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WORCESTER COUNTY

Mass.

A
NARRATIVE
HISTORY

By

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VOLUME II

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
NEW YORK
1934

CHAPTER XXXIII.

History of Worcester County Stores

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The mercantile history of Worcester County is yet another instance of the extraordinary extremes represented by the early days and the present—the primitive country store and the great city emporium. Both, strange to say, classify as department stores. The isolated rural merchant had to keep in stock everything demanded by the every day needs of his customers, who were the people of his village and of the farms round about. He must carry dry goods and clothing and shoes; meats and groceries; hardware and cutlery and fishing tackle, firearms and powder and shot; crockery and kitchen ware; medicines and candy and numerous "notions"; materials for home industries; farm and garden seeds and farm and garden tools; dairy supplies, and on through a seemingly endless list. The city store of today can hardly boast a greater number of "departments."

As a village emerged into the beginning of a populous town, its mercantile interests broadened. Instead of being dependent upon the one general store, the people had their specialty shops which opened one after the other,—drug store, dry goods and millinery store, butcher shop, tailor shop, hardware store, which, perhaps, also took on the aspect of a department store. Rival establishments came along. Eventually each growing community took on some of the aspects of a small city.

But many of our county towns did not grow rapidly, and some never grew at all. They had no important manufacturing, or, if mills were established, they were located at a distance from the center, and by their presence created villages of their own. The old village store continued to be the mainstay of its community. In such of these places as were off the railroads, this condition continued for many years, and, in fact, country stores of this character may still be found within the boundaries of the county.

The trolley lines had their effect upon those stores that came within their immediate influence, in giving the country people easy and cheap access to the

cities and large towns, to the stores of which they transferred a part of their trading. Yet in the villages into which the street railway penetrated, the stores continued to prosper in a moderate way. A great many of them had not changed their methods for years. They looked within and without as they had always looked. Some of their owners wakened to the fact that if they were to survive they must put their business on a modern basis and proceeded to do so. Others dragged along in the same old way.

Then came the automobile, and with it a revolution in the buying habits of farmers and everyone else who lived in the country. The motor car became as necessary a piece of farm equipment as the mowing machine. The village storekeeper either adopted "city ways" of merchandising his goods, or sold out, or failed. Yankee enterprise, which perhaps had been lying dormant, came to life. The village store put in its gasoline pumps and in many instances a service station. Its proprietor learned to cater to the tourist trade. He began to sell cold drinks as a new "department." In some cases his family started a lunch room, and converted their best chambers for the convenience of passing travelers.

Time was when stage coaches stopped in front of the same old building, to leave and take on mail, and were received by the proprietor of the very same store. Now it is the motor car that pulls up at the door, to have its tank filled with gasoline, or to permit its occupants to do a little country trading. So, when the chain stores began to invade the towns, the village stores were very far from finding their competition ruinous.

It is difficult even to imagine what the very earliest stores were like in Worcester County, then the wilderness Nipmuck Country of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. First was the occasional trading post established by some venturesome Englishman who saw his chance of making large profits from barter with the Indians. The pioneer settlers may have had some slight dealings with such as he. It is conceivable that in a little settlement some household started keeping a few necessities for the convenience of their neighbors and their own profit. Such a store, if one may call it that, was a cabin of logs, rude to the last degree. Yet out of so small a beginning may have evolved the country store of the village period of the community. More likely, perhaps, a wide-awake individual of the coast towns had his eye open for an opportunity, and finding it in a growing settlement, proceeded there with a stock of goods and started business. Whatever the beginning, a village did not have to arrive at any considerable population before it had its store.

For many years very little money entered into the business of the rural store. The differences in currencies between the Colonies, and, following the Revolution, the confusion of currency, made barter the only practical method

of country business. Not only was the trade of the store carried on in this manner, but charges in the taverns, doctors' bills, ministers' salaries and the hire of labor were paid in kind, in farm produce such as corn, rye, wheat, flax, or articles of home manufacture, such as blankets, coverlets, fabrics, and baskets. It was known as "country pay." One merchant told the story in a brief advertisement which said, "All kinds of country produce will be received in payment and every favor gratefully acknowledged. Good rock salt exchanged for flaxseed or rye, even."

Likewise, the country storekeeper must have bought his stocks of goods from the wholesaler by barter, which, it is not impossible, was highly profitable to the city merchant, whose opportunities for disposing of the products of the farms and such backwoods commodities as furs, and the profits thereon, could not have been known to his customer. There could have been little passing of gold and silver.

An Old Country Store—Frederick A. Currier of Fitchburg, whose antiquarian research was in the latter part of the last century, brought together reminiscences to paint a true picture of the country store of a hundred years before, as follows:

"Entering through the narrow door, the customer found himself in a room whose unplastered walls and ceiling crossed by beams were thickly hung with all sorts of goods. The shelves, from floor to ceiling, were filled with such articles as a plain people would call for, the dry goods being arranged with an eye to effect with different-colored fabrics in contrasting streaks, fresh goods upheaving the old and easily traced in strata, while fancy articles hung from hooks in the partitions of the shelves.

"From under the counter came cotton batting and factory yarn, and the woolen skeins spun by farmers' wives. There was no show window display, as is customary at the present day. Many remember the calicoes of those days, deep-dyed in indigo-blue and red, the bandanna handkerchiefs mottled with white, the cotton thread, knotted in hanks and exhausting the best range of color.

"There was no commercial traveler in those days, bringing his samples to the merchant's door, but twice a year the trip to Boston by stage was made to buy new stock. Its arrival was as great an event as the 'openings' of today, the women taking samples of the calicoes, which they washed and hung from their windows to dry, to test the colors. They were makers of rare bargains, buying stuffs which brought solid comfort, washing well and wearing well; the silk and sheen, which were their real texture, were imparted to them by the satisfaction they had in them. Country maidens fitted their calicoes with care and wore them with exquisite neatness; if they overrated the fineness of

the fabric, their worldly ignorance helped them to be satisfied and happy in small things. In a row of drawers were kept the few pieces of silk and webs of lawn and lace. The lawn was of good quality, and from it, when her time came, she who had never known gay attire was sure to have her last robe decorously fashioned by loving neighbors.

"From the lace were made the caps worn by matrons past middle life, the borders being prettily wrought with floss. Such webs were apt to get shop-worn, with yellow streaks and indelible creases, positive toothmarks of time; but there were no 'bargain sales' on account of these brands of long possession. The storekeeper always assured the women the streaks would wash or wear out. He may have had an artist's eye for the mellowing of his goods, and loved that creamy tint which creeps along its folds into the meshes of old lace—indeed into all long-woven, undyed fabrics.

"A peculiar odor pervaded the place, sometimes of molasses, sometimes of fish, and again of tea and coffee, with a faint scent of snuff or a strong smell of New England rum when the trapdoor to the cellar was lifted, where were also kept the butter and pork. The spigot of the molasses hogshead, at the rear of the store, seemed always drizzling into the tin measure, which in summer made an excellent fly trap. The molasses had a yeasty trick of foaming, and once in a while it sugared.

"The little box of a counting room had its walls zig-zagged with broad tape, a receptacle for bills and letters, many yellow with age, while the uppermost, with faded labels, had served as roosts for generations of flies.

"The candies of these stores were a delight to the children, who looked at the red and white sticks in the brass-mounted jars with longing eyes. These candies might be rather stale, but to the buyers a freshness was imparted to them by their rarity.

"The country store served as the village debating society, and around the stove of winter evenings the discussion was of topics forestalling the weather, of stock and produce, of sickness, of the prices, praising the work of wives and daughters, and criticising the latest sermon. The people loved discussion, and party spirit ran high. Affairs of state and nation were handled with crude but clear logic; especially before town meeting many important questions were earnestly considered. Many of the company were tireless whittlers, keeping the storekeeper well supplied with kindlings. Unoccupied composure is said to be the outcome of polite society, and the whittling of the store loiterer simply the force of the habit for work oozing from his fingers' ends.

"The store of a late autumn day was often like a miniature fair, and the storekeeper and his clerk had not a minute to spare from his twine and yard-

stick. The farmers' wagons, driving up with their butter, eggs and produce, departed with lighter bundles, and the occupants with quicker steps, they having been enlivened by the sight of new goods, the meeting with old friends, hearing the latest news, and going away refreshed. Promptly at 9 o'clock the store closed its door and talkers and listeners went home."

The storekeeper of a Worcester County village was usually an important citizen. The mere fact that he had sufficient capital to engage in the business gave him a standing above most of its fellows, and very often he was honored by his townsmen by election to town office or to the General Court. Frequently he was entitled to write Esquire after his name. Occasionally, the storekeeper was lacking in the strict ethics of New England business, and it even happened that his customers were driven to practice as sharp methods toward him as he toward them. But usually, only the honest merchant, known to his community as one to be trusted, his word as good as his bond, survived to build up a place for himself and his business.

As we have said, the department store of today is merely a large scale duplication of the rude establishment where our forefathers did their trading. But the modern store does not carry what was perhaps the most important item in the whole inventory of the old time predecessor, that of spirituous liquors. In their sale lay the rich source of profit. A license was required, which probably helped the seller by restricting competition. The place in the lives of the people occupied by strong drink, and particularly rum, may be noted in the charges in the ancient daybook of the village store at Lunenburg for the year 1800, as follows:

1 gal. N. rum, 3s. 6d.
6 yds. India cotton, 12s.
1 doz. crackers, 1s.
2 lbs. of sugar, 1s. 10d.
1 qt. N. rum, 11d.
1¾ calico, 4s. 5d.
2 qts. molasses, 1s. 9d.
2 lbs. cotton, 4s.
2½ lbs. salt fish, 11½d.
1 lb. butter, 1s. 9d.
3 mackerel, 10d.
¼ muslin, 1s. 5d.
Rum and crackers, 1s. 3d.
1 orange, 4d.
Spirits and snuff, 10d.
¼ lb. Souchong tea, 1s. 6d.
"Goods Chawked Up," 4s. 10d.
½ mug toddy, 6d.
Peck of salt, 2s.
½ doz. eggs, 1s. 1½d.
1 lemon, 6½d.
1 lb. raisins, 10d.
Spirit and lemon, 1s.
Lemon and spirit, 1s. 6d.

One gets a very good idea of the needs of people in the enumeration of goods contained in the published announcement of the opening of a new store, as follows: "General assortment of English, American, and West India goods, among which are: Black, brown, olive, green, violet, mulberry and mixed broadcloth; buckskin, plaid, black, blue, drab and lavender cassi-

meres; satinets; pilot cloths; silk, Valencia and velvet vestings; flannels; sheetings; bedticking; a large assortment of merinos, and dark prints; alpine, black and colored silk; bonnet linings; Highland and Valencia shawls; silk and cotton handkerchiefs; scarfs; wrought muslin caps and collars; lamb's wool, merino, mohair, cashmere and worsted hose; black and white silk; embroidered silk; kid gloves, buckskin, woolen and Berlin ditto; black veils of superior quality, barege, jacoinett, plain; spotted and plain muslin; lace insertions and edgings; colored cambric; furniture patch; plaid and brown tablecloths, damask, super brown and white linen ditto; silk and cotton velvets; white and colored wadding; plain, gilt, figured and lasting buttons; short boas and comforters; etc., etc.

"Also prime molasses, flour, rice, teas, coffees, tobacco, raisins, brimstone, spice, oil, salt fish, sugars, snuff, figs, sulphur, saleratus, salt port, etc. etc.; flour cloths; boot and paint brushes, dusters, brooms, and broom brushes, together with many other articles not enumerated. All of these are offered on the most reasonable terms."

It will be noted that no mention is made of brandy and rum. Perhaps the temperance movement was responsible for the departure from a time-established practice, or perhaps the proprietors considered it wasted printers' ink to mention so obvious an item of merchandise.

Anecdotes of the Village Store—It took a resourceful and worldly wise storekeeper to meet the exigencies of business as conducted in the village store. Stories have come down through the generations which illustrate the relations that sometimes existed between merchant and customer. Several of these have to do with Captain Oliver Fox who conducted the "Old Red Store" in Fitchburg in the period from 1810 to 1814—a wide-awake and shrewd man, but so were those who dealt with him.

One day Joel Page, Sr., was in the Red Store and mentioned the havoc grasshoppers were making on his farm. "Pooh! pooh!" said the captain, "I'll give you two dollars if you can bring me a bushel of grasshoppers off the whole farm." Forthwith, Mr. Page hurried home and set the entire family gathering live grasshoppers, and the next day presented himself and the disputed bushel in a bag. Fox denied the two dollar bargain, and refused to pay, but the farmer was firm in his demand, and vigorous words passed back and forth. Finally, Page declared that unless the money was forthcoming instantly he would dump his myriad of grasshoppers on the floor. Thought of a storefull of hopping insects quickly won the wagered cash.

Tea in those days was a luxury and sparingly used, and storekeepers were popularly supposed sometimes to get the first use of the leaves before they were offered for sale. Captain Fox was under the suspicion of the good

housewives of the village and farms. Suspicion also rested against the farmers who used wood ashes for making their domestic soap and were charged with drying the leached potash and mingling it with unleached when it was sent to the store for sale or barter.

One day a farmer loaded a wagon with barrels of ashes, and his wife drove down to the Red Store. "I suppose you are taking ashes?" she said. "Oh, yes," replied the captain, and ordered that the wagon be driven to the shed and unloaded. The good woman entered the store, and bought tea and spices and other articles, until there was a balance of 17 cents against her. She had just concluded her shopping, when the clerk called the captain aside and whispered that the ashes looked suspicious. "Hold on," cried he, as the customer was mounting to the wagon seat. "Haven't those ashes been leached?" "Oh yes," she called back, "but I thought they'd do in paying for tea grounds."

Another astute customer learned how to get the better of a storekeeper. A somewhat notorious character who lived a little out of Fitchburg, walked into a store one day and handed the proprietor a bottle with the request that it be filled with New England rum. The merchant went to a row of barrels, filled it, and handed it to the waiting customer, who, after putting the bottle in his pocket, fumbled through his clothes for the money, and could not produce one cent. He said he must have left his cash at home, and would pay the next time he came to town.

"No you don't," cried the storekeeper, "that won't work here. Hand back that bottle," which the man did with evident reluctance. The proprietor poured back its contents into the barrel, and returned the empty bottle, saying, "Don't you ever come into this store and ask for liquor without having your money with you."

The would-be patron strolled out of the door, and hardly had entered the open air when he pulled a bottle from a pocket and took a long and satisfying drink. He had worked an ingenious game of substitution. On the way to town he had filled one of a pair of bottles with water from a wayside spring. In returning the bottle, he had handed over the water-filled receptacle, and the indignant storekeeper had not noticed the difference as he poured its contents into the rum barrel. The story got out, and the proprietor was charged by his cronies with having lost nothing, for he had sold the water mingled with the rum at full price.

The liquor business of the country store was astonishingly great. Social drinking was common practice, of course, and many stores made a practice of providing a stimulating drink for customers every morning. One store compounded its social glass of rum, raisins, sugar and nutmeg, pleasing to

the accustomed palate, and likewise stimulating. When the farmer came in with a load of produce, he must always have his jug of New England rum.

Home Straw-Braiding and Hat-Making—Later, the country stores did a great business in braided straw and palm leaf and hats made from them. In 1831 we find one of them advertising "Wanted, 10,000 yards of leghorn or eleven strand braid, also nice Dunstable and palm leaf hats, for which a fair price will be given." Women and children braided straw as a regular source of income, the latter being taught the art when very young. As there was no machinery, every straw hat or bonnet had to be made by hand.

The rye straw brought from the field was bleached on the grass, scalded in soapsuds, and smoked in sulphur in a barrel, and then dried and split into strands with a little hand machine. It was then ready for braiding, which was done in many pretty patterns. There was always a ready market for it, through the stores, among the manufacturers of hats.

The palm leaf braid and hat manufacturing as a home industry followed that in which the native straw was used. Some of these hats found their way to America in 1829, and a Boston merchant noted their durability and saw a future for them. He imported a few bales of the palm leaf from Cuba, and employed a Dedham woman to take one of the hats to pieces, learn how it was fashioned, and try to make one like it. She was successful, and chanced to teach the art to a Petersham woman, who passed it on to her neighbors, and the industry spread all over the county. The greater part of the business was transacted through the country stores, which furnished the families with the palm leaf and purchased of them the braided material or the completed hats.

These hats after being sewn into form, were very rough, and had to be ironed smooth, a task that required strength and therefore was passed on to the men-folk. Gradually the palm leaf hat industry centralized in factories. At the peak of popularity of this broad-brimmed headpiece, one Barre factory was turning out the seemingly incredible number of two hundred thousand dozen annually. Old people remember when nearly everyone who labored under the summer sun wore a palmleaf, and it was invariably associated with farm work.

It was in an Upton store, through the purchase of straw braid and the manufacture of straw bonnets, that the great Knowlton hat business of that town had its beginning.

Prices of the Years 1800 and 1900—"Running over diaries, letters, and account books and utilizing whatever 'prices current' have come down to us and such advertisements as one can find in the newspapers, it is possible to reach a rough approximation of something like a chart of prices," wrote

Channing. "Taking five commodities that may fairly be classed among the necessities,—flour, beef, coffee, sugar, and butter,—let us compare prices in 1800 and in 1900. In April, 1800, a householder at Boston could buy one pound of each of these things for eighty cents; his successor a hundred years later would have paid one hundred and ten cents or about one quarter more. A century ago, beef and mutton were cheap, costing about eight cents a pound. Breadstuffs, on the other hand, were high; corn bringing seventy-five cents a bushel or more and flour costing from eight to ten dollars a barrel. Coffee was a little cheaper than it is now, but sugar cost from fifteen to twenty cents a pound, instead of five or six; and butter brought twenty cents instead of about thirty-five for the same grade and season.

"There was considerable variation in prices in different parts of the country, owing to the crudities of the transportation system. Breadstuffs were noticeably cheaper outside of New England, but imported foods were as a rule more expensive, in these early years, at New York and Philadelphia than they were at Boston and Salem. One of the things that surprises a student is the constancy of the yearly average of food prices at any one place and the seasonal variations which are repeated year after year.

"Turning now from food to clothing, it appears that it cost about as many dollars and cents to provide a suit of clothes or a dress as it does at the present time. Fashions in clothing and nomenclature of goods change so rapidly that it is impossible to construct anything like a chart of prices of textiles. Cottons had not begun to take the place of woolens and linens in 1790, or even in 1800, and the price of fabrics had not yet been affected by the introduction of cheap manufacturing processes, cheap fibre, or the production of ready-made clothing of all prices and qualities. John Pierce valued a broadcloth suit, which a parishioner had given him, at forty-four dollars, and Jefferson paid twenty-eight dollars each for the liveries that were worn by the servants at the President's Mansion. Footwear appears to have been much cheaper then than now; ladies' slippers costing less than two dollars a pair. As soon, however, as one gets away from the everyday things that one associates with human existence, prices are out of all comparison with those of the present day.

"Up to 1800, house warming was by means of wood fires in the old-fashioned fireplaces, although Franklin and Count Rumford had already designed more effective means for utilizing the heat of burning wood and coal. About 1809 advertisements of stoves and furnaces begin to appear in the newspapers. Jefferson used coal brought from Richmond by water to heat the presidential mansion during a part of his term of office, and not many years were to pass away before Judge Pierce was having semi-bituminous coal delivered at his house in Brookline for twelve dollars a ton. Taking

everything into consideration and making all possible allowances for the imperfection of such records as are accessible, it seems that the difference in the cost of living between the beginning and the ending of the nineteenth century was due to the confinement of one's expenditures—in 1800—for the most part to things that were produced near at hand, and to the great paucity of opportunity for expenditure on amusements and other accessories of existence."

The Big Town County Stores a Century Ago—No better idea of the manner of life of a community in by-gone days can be obtained than through the advertisements in the current newspapers. From them one learns what the people were wearing, eating, drinking—the necessaries and luxuries of their every day existence. They indicate clearly the advances that had been made in the intellectual as well as in the physical side of life. A copy of the *Worcester Republican* of August 30, 1837, contains a veritable mine of this kind of information. Worcester, the shire town, was a rapidly growing community of approaching 5,000 souls, the center of a highly productive farming country, and having prosperous mills and factories. It had long graduated from the country stage of its existence.

We find among the advertisements Babcock & Co. offering 1,000 gallons of "Strained Spring and Fall Sperm Oil," which was the fuel used in lamps; and "Chilblain Lotion; a Positive Cure for the Complaint."

Francis Blake tells the readers of a great variety of commodities, among them "25 Quintals Grand Banks Codfish of Superior Quality"; "Harris & Sons Very Superior Old Port Wine"; several choice brands of Principe and Havana cigars; 10 gross Vassar's Pale Ale in pint and quart bottles; and announces that he has been made agent for "Farnum's Celebrated Loco Foko or Friction Matches."

Rufus D. Dunbar announced that he "will keep constantly on hand the largest assortment of watches, watch materials, clocks, jewelry, Britania and japanned ware, cutlery and fancy goods that can be found in the country," and these he would sell for cash or approved credit.

"Fashionable Hair Dresser," otherwise John Morey, "has constantly on hand a large assortment of Puffs, Curls, Frizzetts, all of the best quality. Also, perfumery of all kinds, and other fancy articles."

Marsh & Liscom, No. 8 Merchants' Row, "grateful for the liberal patronage they have received, would respectfully inform their friends and the public generally, that they continue to manufacture and have constantly on hand PIANO FORTES which they will warrant will be as good in every respect as can be found at any other manufactory. Piano fortes tuned and repaired on short notice. Also, a general assortment of music for sale."

They had washing machines in that old day, too, and "Hovey's Cylinder Washing Machine" must have been a good one, for it got the written recommendation of "Honest John" Davis, Governor of Massachusetts and United States Senator, as the following advertisement relates: "The following certificate from the family of Hon. John Davis, in connection with those from several others who have purchased and used these machines, will go far to show the reputation in which they stand. William Hovey, Worcester March 8.: 'Mr. Hovey:— The Washington Machine invented by you has been used in my family during the past winter, and is pronounced the best article of the kind we have ever had. With proper attention, no rubbing is necessary, and the work is done in less time than by the hand. Those who are engaged in that branch of our domestic affairs consider it a valuable invention; and we recommend it to the use of all families, as a labor-saving machine. J. Davis, Worcester, February 27, 1837.' "

The Springfield Fire Insurance Company "continues to effect insurance on all kinds of property, except Cotton and Woolen Manufactories."

Progress had been made for the benefit of the amateur scientists is suggested in this advertisement: "Optical Instruments. Just received by Timo. Smith, a variety of Optical instruments, *viz.*—One Achromatic Telescope with four Eye Glasses, of sufficient power to discover the Planets with their Satellites,—one good day and night ship telescope and a variety of smaller ones,—Gould's Compound Miscroscope, together with a number of lesser power,—one magic lantern,—one camera obscura, and a number of small lenzes of high power. Spectacles of all kinds, as usual, manufactured. The above together with all other goods in store will be exchanged for bank bills."

The matter of currency was evidently a little unsettled, to judge from the emphasis laid upon its acceptance, and also from the fact that a premium was offered as an inducement to trade. E. F. Dixie, under the caption "Bank Notes Wanted and at a Premium," advertises, "Bills of any bank redeemable at the Suffolk Bank, Boston, will be taken in payment for Goods, and one dollar and three cents allowed for each dollar—the prices as low as articles of the same quality can be purchased elsewhere with *Gold* and *Silver*. N. B. Flour and Grain excepted." A furniture store does even better, by offering that "Bills of most of the banks will be taken in exchange, for which we will allow one dollar and five cents for every dollar."

The literary tastes of the day are exhibited in the list of works carried by M. D. Phillips & Co.'s bookstore, in which we note "Milton's Poetical Works," "Life and Works of Shakespeare," "Life and Works of Franklin,"

"Young, Gray, Collins, Coleridge, Hemans, Sigourney, & Gould's poetical Works," "Johnson's Life and Writings," "Novels and Tales by Maria Edgworth," "Jefferson's Life and Correspondence," "Canning's Select Speeches," "Phillip's, Curran's, Grattan's and Emmett's Speeches," "Library of American Biography" in seven volumes, "Spurzheim, Combs, and Jones' Works on Phrenology," "Prior's Life of Goldsmith," "Irving's Life of Columbus," "*Scott's Bible* cheap"; "Doddridge's Family Expositor," Barnes's "Notes on the Gospel—Acts and Romans"; "Ripley's Notes on the Bible," and the "Family Library in 81 volumes."

An advertisement of "New York Goods for Cash only" by H. B. Claflin & Co. is of very exceptional interest, in that it sets forth in detail the fabrics of the period, together with their prices. The firm states that they "would inform their friends and the public generally that all their goods will in the future be *bought* and *sold* for *Cash Only,* as they are confident that by this arrangement they can afford their *Goods* much lower than their formerly low prices. They are this week receiving from New York a great variety of Rich goods, well adapted to the *Fall Trade.* Many kinds of goods will be found 50 per cent. cheaper than last season, consisting in part of:—

162 pcs. French, German and English Merinos of every desirable color from 50 cts. to $1.75 per yd.

45 pcs. Black and Colored Alepines, very cheap, from 60 cts. to $1.50 per yd.

50 pcs. Dark Silk Camlets at 85 cts.

230 pcs. Plain and Figured SILKS, some very rich, from 35 cts. to $1.25 per yd.

255 Scarlet, Black and White Merino Shawls, all sizes and prices, from $2.50 to $12.00

198 Black Lace Veils, from $1.75 to $10.00.

175 pcs. French and English prints from 17 to 37 cts.

350 pcs. Good American do do 8 to 14 cents.

150 pcs. English and American Copperplates, from 9 to 20 cts.

320 pcs. Colored Cambrics from 7 to 12½ cts.

125 pcs. Fine and Common Irish Linens from 37 to 75 cts.

200 White Damask Table Cloths from 60 cts to $2.75.

150 Colored Damask Table Cloths, 92 cts, to $2.75.

275 Brown Damask Table Cloths, 37 cts. to $1.

25 doz. Fine Linen Napkins, at 33 cts. each.

50 pcs. Fine Birds Eye Diapers, at 25 cts. per yd.

125 doz. Fine Line Cambric Handkerchiefs from 12½ to 92 cts.

750 Silk, Florence and Straw Bonnets, from 75 cts. to $500.

1500 yds. Rich Bonnet Silks from 37 cts. to $1.

350 pcs. rich new style Bonnet Ribbons from 6 to 50 cts. per yd.

550 Muslin Capes & Collars from 37 cts. to $1.

75 pcs. Superfine and Common Broad Cloths, all colors, from $1.75 to $5 per yd.

89 pcs. Cassimers from $1.05 to $2 per yd.

50 pcs. Stout Bed Ticking from 20 to 25 cts.
15 bales Fine and Heavy Brown Sheetings from 8 to 14 cts.
5 cases Bleached Sheetings and Shirtings from 7 to 8 cts.
2 bales Russia Diapers at $2 a piece.
3000 yds. Fine and Linen Crash from 6 to 12½ cts.
1,000 yds. Good Burlaps at 12½ cts. per yd.

Men's needs in the way of clothing were looked after likewise. Here is a typical advertisement regarding them: "GENTLEMEN wanting Garments made to order in the very best manner and warranted to fit, at very low prices, will do well to call on J. LOVELL, Draper and Tailor, one door south of the United States Hotel, and examine a choice collection of Broadcloths, satinets, buckskins, and vestings. Ready made clothing constantly on hand, also, Shirts, Bosoms, Stocks, Collars, Suspenders, Pantaloon Straps, etc. which will be sold as low as at any other establishment."

W. & E. B. Coe druggist in Merchants' Row, carried "Diamond Pearl Tooth Powder and Brushes, the best article in use for preserving the teeth and gums," which indicates that care of the teeth dates back at least a hundred years. The dentists advertised freely. The "operating room" of Dr. Miller, "Surgeon Dentist," was opposite the Unitarian Brick Block. His advertisement contained an engraving showing bridge-work in which wicked looking needle-sharp hooks are conspicuous. The doctor announced that he had "a supply of MINERAL TEETH of the best quality at least expense, and can afford to insert them at prices much lower than formerly. These teeth have drawn premiums in New York and Philadelphia, and are warranted stronger and to resemble Natural teeth more nearly than any made in Worcester County. They are used by the best dentists of our large cities and are principally used in this place. For those who have been affected by the 'hard times' or persons in indigent circumstances, all operations will be very low—and *warranted.* Single sets by sections and double sets connected by gold springs have been inserted by the subscriber and are retained with ease and convenience."

Druggist Coe also advertised bay rum as a specific for rheumatism and inflammation, and "Indian Dye, for Coloring Grey, Light or Red Hair a beautiful Brown or Jet Black, without staining the skin. Also, Indian Oil for preserving, beautifying and promoting the growth of the hair."

We find in the first number printed of the *Fitchburg Sentinel* the following advertisement of Franklin's Book Store: "Stationery and books, Sarssparilla Compound, cologne water, indelible ink, horehound candy, Moore's Essence of Life for colds, Pectoral Balsam, pills of various kinds, Cochran's Horse Liniment, eye water, confectionery, Soothing Syrup for teething children, Richardson's Bitters, Compound Honey of Boneset, a few copies of History of Fitchburg and fancy plates." Which was doing pretty well, for a book store.

One Way to Collect Bills—The merchants of the early nineteenth century did not bother to send their delinquent customers dunning letters. Instead they spoke to them as a body through the medium of an advertisement in the *Aegis*. The usual notice read something like that of Wheeler & Morse of Grafton, dated November 27, 1805: "All persons indebted to subscribers either on note or book account previous to the 22nd day of April last, are called upon for payment on or before the first day of February next. All accounts that are not paid at that time will be lodged in the hands of an attorney for collection."

But one Cyrus Tuttle was more tactful about it. His advertisement "Requests the candid and serious attention of his customers to that passage of the Holy Scripture which they will find recorded in the 18th Chapter and 28th verse of St. Matthews Gospel—

"Pay me what thou oweth! ! ! ! !"

Threat of dire consequences Mr. Tuttle revealed cunningly, in this verse which wound up the advertisement:

"Come pay me, sir, in pity pay
Or I shall break and run away,
Or—if you still will keep me waiting—
Green-bag, you know, may send you, GREETING."

For the benefit of the younger generation, the green baize bag used to be the badge of the lawyer.

Peddler Was Once Important Merchant—One of the most important branches of retail trade in the early history of the county was that of the peddler or chapman, as he was also known. In the days of difficult travel, and for that matter, later when the roads became reasonably good, it was of the greatest convenience to the farm household to have goods come to the door. And the people of the villages, although they had their store where they did most of their trading, appreciated the coming of the peddler, not only for what he had to show them, but for the gossip and news which he was sure to bring with him.

Many young Yankee men of good family took to the road with their packs. Probably many of them were glad to get away from the hard labor and lonesomeness of the farm, and they and others saw the opportunity to make some money and at the same time see something of a world which was unknown to them. Many of them were successful. They lived frugally, and saved every possible cent. As a rule they did not continue long as peddlers. It was only the first step toward business success. Hundreds of instances are recorded of men who rose to eminence or attained riches, who carried a peddler's pack on the first rung of their ladder of success.

Among them was John Boynton, who as a maker and peddler of tinware, made the beginning of the fortune with which, in 1865, he founded the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

First came the "trunk peddler," so named because he carried his wares in one or two small oblong tin trunks slung on his back by a web harness of leather strap. The pioneers dealt chiefly in "Yankee notions"—such articles as pins, needles, hairpins, hooks and eyes, scissors, razors, combs, "galluses," coat and vest buttons, spoons, cutlery, small hardware, children's books, cotton goods, lace and perfumes. But they came to specialize and there were tin peddlers, clock peddlers, and peddlers of wooden ware, pottery, brooms, books, spices, essences, dyes, and on through a long list.

By 1830 the itinerant merchants had begun to travel with large wagons loaded with dry goods, hats, boots and shoes, firearms, hardware, clocks, and even furniture, and such vehicles were common sights on the country roads, and on every occasion when the people came together, as at the cattle shows and military musters. It was nothing unusual for a peddler to drive up to a village green, there to display his wares. Instantly the women deserted their household tasks and the men their work, to gather, perhaps to buy or trade, but in any case to hear the news.

The medicine peddlers became a numerous band. Most of them sold nostrums of their own, buying pills wholesale and putting them up in pillbox or bottle bearing their names. Several might purchase the same kind of pills, and each prescribe them for a different ailment. They affected a knowledge of medicine, and sometimes went so far as to attend the sick, and by so doing came to be called "doctor." They were quacks of purest water, yet it is doubtful if they did much harm, for they took good care that their drugs were harmless.

As time went on, the type of peddler changed. None remained but the vagabond class, and these gradually ceased to sell and rendered service only as tinkers, prepared to repair whatever the housewife had waiting for them. So far did they sink in public esteem, that one city inn singled them out in the following frank and illuminating poster:

> "Four pence a night for a bed.
> Six pence with supper.
> No more than five to sleep in a bed.
> No boots to be worn in bed.
> Organ grinders to sleep in the wash-house.
> No dogs allowed up stairs.
> No beer in the kitchen.
> No Razor grinders or Tinkers taken in."

They had fallen below the organ grinder and the dog.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Worcester County Farms and Their Allies

It is a far cry from the wilderness which confronted the pioneers of Worcester County to the well-tilled farmlands of today. It is likewise a far cry from the crude husbandry as practiced before our farmers began to realize their ignorance and accept the teachings of science, to the exact, intelligent methods of the twentieth century. We find everywhere evidences of an extraordinary change, a considerable part of which has taken place even in the last generation—great dairy farms with modern machinery and sanitation, vast orchards that are accorded every protection against their insect and parasite enemies; lush market gardens covering many acres; poultry farms over which swarm chickens or ducks or turkeys; farms which raise only a few specialized crops, as for example, strawberries or asparagus; and what may be called "general farms," which yield variety of produce according to the best accepted methods. Working them as owners or managers are many graduates of agricultural colleges. The laboratories are patronized constantly, in the study of soils or other problems. The county could succeed agriculturally along no other lines. Its infinite variety of soil and altitude and other circumstances compels each successful farm to lay down its own individual program of production. This has become the almost universal practice over a broad field of husbandry, so that from the intervales along the rivers to the plateaus and valleys of the high country, potentialities are understood.

There is a great rounded hill in the South County which is bisected by a stone wall that extends over the crest from base to base. To the west of the wall is a pasture strewn thickly with stones and the outcroppings of buried boulders. Grazing cattle must move circuitously as they wander in their search for grass. But over the wall is the smooth sweep of a rich mowing, where in its season tall grass ripples with the breeze. Once upon a time the good grass-land was the counterpart of the rough pasture. The hill is an

emblem of the creation of Worcester County farms, of the infinite labor which our forefathers gave to clearing their lands, and its results.

After the settlers had made the land ready, they had little or no knowledge of the possibilities offered by the soil. They planted such crops as were demanded for their own uses. As the population grew and roads were opened to give them access to market, circumstances altered, but they were unable quickly to change their farming methods, because they knew nothing else. But the enterprising and stout-hearted learned little by little, and they thrived. Others fell behind. Their lands, exhausted of their natural fertility, yielded less and less. Life on such a farm was intolerably lonesome and disheartening. The young folk refused to stay and take over a hopeless task. Families died out. Farms were abandoned. The remoter regions of the county have many such. A cellar hole, with perhaps in summer a few clumps of the flowers which once grew in the home garden, crumbled stone walls—nothing else remains to mark the spot as once a farm where Yankee people lived. Nature has taken back her own, and fields and pastures have reverted to plantations of young trees, and even to maturing woodlands.

But nowadays some of the deserted farms out on the back roads are coming to life again. They are being farmed by progressive people, who know a thing or two about their possibilities under scientific treatment. A new class of farmers has developed of recent years, consisting of men who had their farm training in the Old World. They are succeeding in America, thanks to their capacity for hard work, wives who are only too anxious to coöperate with their husbands, and progressiveness of purpose and enterprise. Some of them have acquired well-cultivated farms. Others have become owners of abandoned farms, and are making a success of them.

One cannot, naturally, compare the farms of a country such as ours in central Massachusetts with those of the great agricultural states. Probably in an average of years our own farmers are as prosperous as those of the West. They have their automobiles and trucks and electric power and farm machinery, and most of the luxuries that used to be confined to the cities. In a normal year they distribute among themselves $15,000,000, which is what their crops bring.

The farmers owe a great part of their present well-being to the various agencies which they have set up for themselves, or have been set up for them, with the purpose of furthering the interests of agriculture, chiefly through education. The first of these were the agricultural fairs, which have been better known as cattle shows. They brought the farmers together in competition. Each had the opportunity of seeing where his neighbor had met with greater or less success than he had. When men with a common pur-

pose meet together as those old farmers did, they talk over things and argue and debate, and, of course, learn something.

In Worcester County the cattle shows may be taken as dating from pre-Revolutionary days, when a cattle fair was held each fall in the village of Hardwick. These were merely the meetings of buyers and sellers. No organization conducted them. Some such assembling of interests was necessary, and for some reason Hardwick became the place.

In 1815 the Agricultural Associates of Shrewsbury came into existence and in the following year the Agricultural Associates of Worcester. But neither was more than a name when they came together in 1818 as the nucleus of a county organization, which was incorporated as the Worcester Agricultural Society, the charter dating from February 24 of that year. In December a meeting was held in Sikes' Tavern, Worcester (later the Exchange Hotel) when a committee was appointed to raise money for premiums. At a meeting in March it was voted to establish a fund "to be sacredly appropriated for the promotion of agriculture," and an entrance fee for membership was fixed at $5.

In the December following a committee was appointed consisting of Levi Lincoln, the first president, Daniel Waldo and Edward D. Bangs to seek a bounty from the Commonwealth as a contribution toward agricultural fairs, and in 1819 the Legislature granted from the State Treasury to each agricultural society, $200 annually for six years for every thousand of dollars of funds they had raised, with the limitation that the bounty should not exceed $600. It is written that the Worcester Agricultural Society always received the full limit of State assistance, which was extended long after the original term of six years, in fact even to the present day.

The first Cattle Show and Exhibition of Manufactures was held on Worcester Common October 7, 1819. Prizes were offered for the best acre of potatoes, the best acre of carrots, the best cut of broadcloth, the best cut of satinet, the best wool hats, and the best cider, "not less than six gallons," and there were various other competitions for "the promotion of agricultural and mechanical arts and manufactures."

The address, which was one of the features of the cattle show for many years, was delivered by Levi Lincoln, Jr., in Old South Church, which stood on the westerly edge of the Common. After the exercises the society marched to Eager's Hotel, where a dinner was served the members and the invited guests. On that day the custom was started of reading the awards after dinner, which was continued year after year.

The succeeding chapter is devoted to a description of this cattle show as written by Jacques Gerard Milbert, a distinguished Frenchman, who was present and studied the exhibits.

The secretary's report of the show commences thus:

"The weather was propitious, the arrangements judicious, and no accident cast a cloud over a scene as brilliant and joyous as has ever been witnessed in our county. The assemblage of spectators was immense. It is estimated that about 2,000 attended the services in the meeting house, and yet the numbers around the pens and on the Common did not sensibly diminish. There were sixty pens arranged for animals exhibited, but these proved inadequate, much greater than ever the bravest dared anticipate being manifested." And he concluded: "Thus passed a proud day for the County of Worcester."

In 1823 the town of Worcester presented to the society the deed of a piece of land on the Common, on which they might erect an agricultural hall, and the offer was accepted. But better counsel prevailed. Even in that day it was seen that the erection of a building of this character might open the way for other gifts from the village green. Some time later a committee was appointed to confer with the selectmen relative to releasing the grant, with the understanding that the town provide a suitable place at fair time for the display of such exhibits as required to be housed. Had the society retained the generous gift it might have owned, even to this day, a building lot on the Common.

The Governor honored the society by his presence at the fair in 1826, when His Excellency, John Quincy Adams, members of the Supreme Judicial Court, and other dignitaries, partook of a public dinner in the new town hall (which was the old City Hall), standing at Front and Main streets. Soon afterward the president of the society, Levi Lincoln, became Governor of the State, and for nine years held the two important offices of Governor of the State of Massachusetts, and president of the Worcester Agricultural Society, the latter for twenty-eight years.

In 1852, the Worcester Agricultural Society acquired twenty acres of land on the West Side of Worcester, across the present Russell Street east of Elm Park, bounded by Sever Street on the east and Highland Street on the north and extending nearly to William Street on the south. In 1853 its first fair was held there, on a larger scale than had been possible in the center of the city, and with the additional attraction of horse races on a half mile track. The office of the secretary was in the society's barn which had neither floor nor windows, and the same room was used for the exhibit of butter and cheese. The fair was deemed a great success, and in the following year was kept open for two days, which brought still greater results.

In 1899 the fairgrounds were sold for development as a residential neighborhood, and a tract containing sixty acres at Barbers Crossing was purchased. A great deal of money was expended there, in building a high class

half mile track and in the erection of buildings, including a great exhibition hall.

The New England Fair was held in Worcester for many years, first on the old West Side grounds, then, year after year, at Barbers Crossing; the Worcester Society united with the New England Society. In the earlier years the fairs were most successful. But the taste of the public changed. The automobile increased so tremendously the range of the farmers' day's travel, that many then fell into the habit of visiting more elaborate fairs to the eastward and westward. Finally the fair was abandoned.

The same influence which caused the going of the New England Fair had a like effect upon the local fairs which had been held for generations in various towns of the county. In the days of the horse, the farmer's family could not plan for a day's excursion much farther than ten miles from home. That was considered the maximum radius of the influence of a local cattle show. The result was the organization of agricultural societies and farmers' clubs each of which held a fair each autumn, and with good weather they were uniformly financially successful. A few towns still have their cattle shows, but chiefly for the trotting races. The Athol, Sturbridge, Upton and Uxbridge fairs are still held. But those at Barre, Clinton, Gardner, Oxford, and Spencer are no more.

Another type of country fair which still endures is conducted in much the same manner as the original cattle shows on Worcester Common—on the village green and along the streets. Bolton and Sterling, the latter conducted by the Sterling Farmers' Club and dating from 1857, still have them. But one after another the village fairs at Lunenburg, Southboro and Westminster were given up for good. Such has been the effect of the swift and far-traveling automobile of the Worcester County farmer.

Worcester County Horticultural Society—One of the great influences in furthering the advancement of agriculture as well as horticulture has been the Worcester County Horticultural Society, in which the towns outside of Worcester have always had their members and their contributors to the exhibitions. In fact the place occupied by the society has grown in importance with the passing of the years, and the attendance at its shows of flowers and fruit and vegetables has constantly increased, not only of interested persons living within the county, but of those from a distance.

The society is an old one. All through its ninety years of existence it has been a factor for good in its field. It was incorporated March 3, 1842, following a period of organization on the part of "several gentlemen desirous of associating themselves together for the purpose of advancing the science and encouraging and improving the practice of horticulture." Never

has a purpose been carried along more consistently. The start was an auspicious one, for within three years the membership reached three hundred.

The first exhibition was held on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of October, 1840, the 14th being Cattle Show Day. For many years afterwards, with the exception of the year 1861, which was remarkable for the failure of the fruit crop throughout the county, the society held its annual exhibition coincident with that of the Worcester Agricultural Society. But beginning with the year 1890 the desirability of more frequent shows was realized, and from that time they have been held weekly throughout the spring and summer and into the fall.

The financial affairs of the society were wisely managed, and finally a sufficient fund was accumulated for the erection in 1851 of a building of its own, a handsome structure situated on the north side of Front Street, only a little distance from Main Street. It was named Horticultural Hall. Its auditorium was a large and admirably adapted for exhibition purposes. With the growth of Worcester the property increased rapidly in value, and finally it was decided to lease it for commercial purposes, and to erect a new building. The result is the new Horticultural Hall at the corner of Elm and Chestnut streets, architecturally along Colonial lines, beautiful within and without. Its exhibition hall affords a delightful setting for the colorful flower shows. Naturally, interest in the exhibitions has been stimulated by its new home, and many amateurs and the gardeners of private estates indulge in keen rivalry for the many premiums which are offered.

The great changes in the Horticultural Society's life and environment have taken place under the régime of Myron F. Converse, who has been its president for the past ten years.

Worcester County Extension Service—From the strictly agricultural standpoint, the dominating influence in the county is that of the Worcester County Extension Service, which has the support and coöperation of its individual members, the County Commissioners, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Federal Government. Its history is interesting, as one of quick evolution. It had its beginning in 1913 as the Agricultural Bureau of Worcester Chamber of Commerce. At that time the farmers of central Massachusetts were deeply concerned with the possibilities of alfalfa for forage. A meeting of farmers at the chamber in connection with the bureau resulted in the organization of the Worcester County Alfalfa Club, which at a meeting held in January, 1914, had ninety-six members representing forty county towns.

In the following March, the organization was incorporated as the Worcester County Improvement League and Alfalfa Club, and the scope of the pro-

posed work was broadened. The Agricultural Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce and the Alfalfa Club were absorbed in the new club. In 1915 the name was changed to the Worcester County Farm Bureau.

In 1918 a separation of interests became necessary, because of a new law which withdrew all financial support of the State from organizations having members. The Worcester County Farm Bureau continued its existence, taking over the commercial side of farming and matters relating to legislation. All parts of the county are represented in its five hundred members.

A new body, the Worcester County Extension Service, was formed, to carry on the educational work, supported by the county of Worcester, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Federal Government. Attached to the office in the Federal building at Worcester are Federal and State experts, whose services are available to the public at large as well as to agriculturalists and horticulturalists. Scientific advice may be had on any pertinent subject, such as soils, crops, forestry, the dairy, the orchard, the market garden, the apiary, poultry, general farming, and on through the list.

Nor are the women forgotten. A trained staff of women visit among the farms and in the villages, instructing in household occupations, such as canning of fruit and vegetables, dress-making, cooking and the care of children.

The boys and girls of the farms have their 4-H clubs, which in the county have 2,500 members, and much time and attention is paid to their instruction.

Not the least important in the conduct of the Extension Service is the live coöperation of the Grange and the Farmers' Clubs. Of the latter there are many, and their membership is large. But their original purpose of education has been taken over by the Extension Service, and now they exist chiefly as social organizations.

George F. E. Story has been manager of the Extension Service and Federal County Agricultural Agent since 1918.

There are other prosperous and important coöperative associations, each including in its membership most of the farmers in its particular field of influence. They include the Worcester County Dairymen's Association, the Worcester Milk Producers' Association, which covers the entire shire, the Worcester Poultrymen's Association, which covers the southern end of the county, and the Fitchburg Poultry Association which covers the northern area. The Worcester Market Gardeners' Association, whose membership comprises those who market their produce in the city of Worcester; and the Nashoba Fruit Producers' Association, which includes towns of the northeastern county, and the sister organization, the Bashoba Apple Packing Association which has a large cold storage plant at Ayer.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Dark Days Before the Civil War

The importance of the part played by Worcester County in the critical years which led up to the Civil War, can hardly be exaggerated. Here, in the old Worcester City Hall, on June 21, 1854, was born the Free Soil party. In the same hall, a month later, at the Massachusetts People's Convention, the new party, which was to succeed the Whigs, took the name Republican. In the county was conceived the idea of the Emigrant Aid Society, which came out of the mind of Eli Thayer of Worcester, and which, in great measure due to his indefatigable efforts and skill as an organizer, brought about the colonization of Kansas by anti-slavery men and prevented the further extension of slavery. United States Senator George F. Hoar, in his address on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the naming of Worcester, told the story in few words when he said, "As surely as Faneuil Hall was the cradle of American Independence, so surely was Worcester the cradle of that other revolution."

Spread everywhere through the North was a growing abhorrence of the thought of human bondage. It was an accelerating movement, and nowhere were the circumstances that gave it momentum more in evidence than in our county. For the anti-slavery people here were led by more than ordinarily able men. One has only to name a few to illustrate the point—Edward Everett Hale, a great divine and author, and eloquent inspirer of right thoughts; militant Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, also a Unitarian minister, yet destined to lead the first regiment of colored troops raised in the Civil War; George F. Hoar, Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, who was to be Governor of Massachusetts; Judge Charles Allen, the man who declared the Whig party dissolved; and among the real Abolitionists, that remarkable man and wife, Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelly Foster, who, though the very extreme of radicals, had an immense share in spreading knowledge and keeping the anti-slavery cause constantly in the peoples' vision.

The county spoke with no uncertain voice when the same United States Deputy Marshal who arrested Anthony Burns came to Worcester presumedly to arrest some other slave. The alarm went forth among the towns in a manner to recall the days preceding the Revolution. An immense gathering of angry men showed only too plainly where they stood as to taking negroes from the free soil of Massachusetts. Only by a miracle of courage and tact did Foster and Hoar and Higginson and Stowell save the marshal from what might have been death at the hands of a thoroughly aroused mob of the same men who in a few years were to wear the blue uniform of Union soldiers.

Nor must we forget the Underground Railroad, which had most important links in the county over which runaway slaves were assisted to freedom. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of the destitute unfortunates, were met at stations and with utmost secrecy were conveyed in the darkness of night, from farmhouse to village home, and on to another farmhouse, where they were hidden away and fed and guarded. It was over the line of the Underground across the North County, through Leominster and Fitchburg and Ashburnham, that Shadrach was conveyed on his way to safety in Canada—that same Shadrach, who arrested with Anthony Burns, was rescued from the United States courtroom by a crowd of fellow negroes.

Surely, few regions of the size and population of Worcester County of the 1850's can boast a record of accomplishments such as this. Reading them over, one must realize the influences that were set to work, radiating out in all directions, in the cause of anti-slavery.

The Northern people, as we have said, with an occasional exception in the person of a Southern sympathizer, were opposed to slavery. But they varied greatly in the degree of their opposition. The Abolitionists would have wiped out the institution over night. But the greater number by far, while they disliked the thought of it, recognized the rights of the Southern states to continue as they were. But all were agreed that there should be no further extension of slavery, and no laws enacted for protecting it which would infringe on the rights and principles of the free states.

Birth of Free Soil and Republican Parties—When Charles Allen was elected Worcester County's delegate to the Whig National Convention of 1848, he had heard the district convention's resolve: "That in addition to the former issues between the Whig parties and their opponents, we recognize as another and most important one, our uncompromising opposition to any further extension of slavery over any territory of the United States, or to any legislation by the National Government the specific object of which is to sustain the institution of slavery.

"That, in the opinion of this convention, no candidate for the Presidency can receive the electoral vote of Massachusetts who is not publicly known to be opposed to the extension of slavery."

At the National Convention at Philadelphia on June 7, Charles Allen himself dared put into words before the country the questions the leading men of the day were evading. And out of his daring eloquence, it is claimed, came the eventual disruption of the Whig party, and the creation, first, of the Free Soil party, and its natural successor, the Republican party. And he was a leading figure in the Worcester meetings when these parties were given their names.

The Whigs were striving for a candidate who would be considered neutral in his views on slavery, and yet popular enough to be elected. So Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican War, was determined upon. It was hoped that he would be equally acceptable to the "Conscience Whigs" of New England and the "Cotton Whigs" of the South, who wanted slavery, but solely for the commercial advantages which accrued to them. But General Taylor was a slave-owner.

So, at Philadelphia, Charles Allen rose to address a convention which was all but unanimous, for Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, as the safest men to head their ticket. He said—and they were history-making words: "I express for myself what I believe to be the sentiments of my State and I say that this cannot go forth as the unanimous voice of this Convention. You have put one straw too much on the back of Northern endurance. The Whig party are not to be allowed to nominate their own statesmen. We declare the Whig party of the Union this day dissolved."

His words created a tremendous sensation, but they did not change the choice of candidates. In fact, only one delegate stood with him, Henry Wilson, of Natick, who, when the war had been fought, became vice-president of the United States. Taylor and Fillmore were elected. But that was the end of the Whig party.

On the evening of June 21, Judge Allen was greeted by his fellow-citizens in City Hall. It was a great meeting, at which county towns as well as city were represented. His reception was one of wild enthusiasm. It has been pointed out that neither the press nor the clergy nor many of the prominent citizens paid much attention to the gathering. Those present "were the men of the shops who were really rulers of the city then as they have been ever since."

The judge spoke for two hours. He told his audience he believed he had done no more than carry out the instructions the Worcester County Whigs had given him. "They asked me, 'If General Taylor is nominated, will your

district support him?' And I said, 'No, gentlemen, my district will not support him.' 'There are men in your district who do not think as you do upon the subject,' I was told. 'Sir, who said so?' I asked. 'Governor Lincoln. Not by him only, but by others was it reported that there was a strong sentiment here for General Taylor, and that the County of Worcester would go strongly in his favor,' was the reply. 'Now (turning to the meeting), am I right or was he?"

Shouts of approval were the answer, and he went on: "Most of us have belonged to the Whig party. We have professed to be averse to the extension of slavery. The question is not, here, whether we would eradicate it where it exists, but whether we are opposed to its extension. Well, gentlemen, I did not eat my words at Philadelphia. Will you at the polls? When I declared the Whig party was dissolved, I declared a fact."

As he concluded, his brother, Rev. George Allen, mounted the platform and proposed the memorable resolution, "Resolved, that Massachusetts wears no chains and spurns all bribes; that Massachusetts goes now and will forever go for free soil and free men, for free lips and a free press, for a free land and a free world."

And the Free Soil party was born out of these words.

The Republican Party Is Christened—The People's Convention of Massachusetts was appropriately held in Worcester City Hall, July 20, 1854. There participated in its deliberation, and in the adoption of the famous resolution, delegates from all over Worcester County and, in fact, from all over the State. The convention resolved "That the unquestionable existence of a settled purpose on the part of the slave power to convert the Republic which our fathers founded on principles of justice and liberty into a slave-holding despotism, whose vital and animating spirit shall be the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, calls for the immediate union of all true men into a party which shall make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions.

"Resolved, that in coöperation with the friends of freedom, we hereby form ourselves into the Republican Party of Massachusetts, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes," namely, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the restoration of liberty to Kansas and Nebraska, prohibition of slavery in all the territories, and refusal of admission of any more slave states into the Union."

Arrest of Anthony Burns and Shadrach—The North was brought to a white heat of indignation by the aggression of the slave power, as shown by the Fugitive Slave Law and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the

passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Mayor Peter C. Bacon of Worcester, in his inaugural address in 1851, referring in stirring words to the Fugutive Slave Law, voiced the sentiment of the people "If it be asked whether it be intended that the police of the city shall, in its official capacity, aid in its enforcement, I answer No!" After quoting the United States Supreme Court decision upholding a Massachusetts law passed in 1843, which provided that no sheriff, constable or other officer of this Commonwealth should arrest or detain, or aid in the arrest or detention of any person for the reason that he was claimed as a fugitive slave, Mayor Bacon concluded: "And it is necessary for me only to add that should any officer of this city embraced within the provisions of that act of 1843, be found violating its provisions, I should deem it my duty to recommend his immediate removal from office." Three years later the occasion offered, but it was unnecessary to remove any Worcester police officer.

The arrest in Boston in May, 1854, of the three slaves, Anthony Burns, Sims and Shadrach under the Fugitive Slave Law with the purpose of restoring them to their owners, stirred the people of the county to furious anger. Indignation meetings were held everywhere. The contemporary account in the *Spy* of May 31, tells of the happenings in the shire town:

"Great Meeting in Worcester.
Rally at the City Hall.

"Without the issuing of a single handbill or any previous notice, more than a thousand citizens of Worcester were assembled in the City Hall on Saturday evening at the ringing of the bell.

"Speeches were made by W. W. Rice, Dr. O. Martin, Thomas Drew, T. W. Higginson, and S. S. Foster, all of which were received with the most enthusiastic applause. The most intense excitement prevails in regard to the disgraceful proceedings of the U. S. Government in backing up the kidnappers of men upon the soil of Massachusetts. But one feeling pervades the entire community,—Whigs, Democrats and all seem to be animated by one common sentiment of earnest opposition to the infamous invasion of our soil by the desperadoes of the Southern States under the protection of the Army of the United States.

"It was voted unanimously to lay aside business on Monday and proceed to Boston *en masse,* there to meet the friends of Freedom and humanity from other sections of the state and to take counsel together upon the emergencies of the times.

"Not less than nine hundred people from this section went to Boston by the special and other trains on Saturday and a much larger number will be there today. The people of the country towns are aroused to a pitch of excitement hitherto never seen in Massachusetts since the days of the Revolution. What the result may be, Heaven only knows, but one thing is certain; the administration and the South have raised a storm which can only be quelled when the manacles fall from the limbs of the last slave.

"On Sunday evening the City Hall was crammed to its utmost capacity with an earnest and true-hearted audience, brought together by the demonstrations now being made by the slave power of its authority in and over Massachusetts. Dr. Martin was called to the chair and made some stirring remarks on the occasion. Other able and eloquent addresses by D. F. Parker, Rev. Mr. Marrs, S. S. Foster, Thomas Drew and others, all breathing the most determined feeling to fight the battle of Freedom and to use all proper means to prevent the return of any fugitive from bondage.

"In the course of Mr. Parker's remarks he renounced his former party allegiance and expressed his determination hereafter to go for freedom to all mankind, everywhere. The meeting then adjourned to Court Square, Boston, at 11 o'clock yesterday."

Among those who were arrested in Boston in connection with the disturbances attending the taking of Burns were Rev. Mr. Higginson and Martin Stowell of Worcester. When arraigned neither was convicted. The incident was important only in connection with their unselfish action in protecting a Federal marshal in the Butman riot in Worcester a few months later.

The remanding of Burns to slavery intensified the sense of indignation throughout the County. Men were grimly angry. In Worcester and in some of the towns the church bells were tolled during the day, the stores were closed and draped in black, and on the liberty pole on Worcester Common flew at half mast the flag of the United States, reversed, furled and draped with black.

On Sunday morning, effigies of four men conspicuously identified with the action against Burns, were found suspended by the neck on the Common. Each had its label: PONTIUS PILATE LORING, The Unjust Judge; BEN HALLETT, The Kidnapper; CALEB CUSHING, The Bloodhound; and FRANK PIERCE, Satan's Journeyman.

The Butman Riot—Then came the Butman riot. Only through the resolute action of a group of brave men, every one an anti-slavery partisan, was a Deputy United States Marshal saved from the hands of a great mob of enraged citizens. Had this man Butman been delivered to them, it might very well have happened that he would have died, and the Heart of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would have been guilty of a lynching.

Living in Worcester was William H. Jenkins, an escaped slave, as it was supposed, and his family. On Sunday, October 29, 1854, word was received that Asa O. Butman, the same Deputy United States Marshal who had arrested Burns, had arrived in the city for the purpose of arresting Jenkins.

Immediately the *Spy* issued a handbill, the newspaper "extra" of the day, setting forth in bold black type:

LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS!
BUTMAN, THE KIDNAPPER OF THOMAS SIMS AND ANTHONY BURNS IS IN TOWN, ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER OFFICER!!
THEY ARE BOOKED AT THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE HOUSE!
LOOK OUT FOR THEM!!

The warning was broadcast to all negroes living in the city, and there were many of them, including a goodly sprinkling of runaway slaves, for most of whom the Underground Railroad was responsible.

Further announcement was made at an Anti-Slavery meeting held in the City Hall Sunday evening.

A vigilant committee had previously been appointed for service in case of an emergency such as this, and took up its station around the Temperance House. Its members were soon joined by volunteers, and the crowd grew rapidly until the hotel was beleaguered by a mob whose hearts burned with hatred for the man who had been named "the Human Bloodhound." It was a noisy crowd, and abusive, and remained on duty through the night.

Butman finally made the bad error of showing a pistol. At three o'clock in the morning Judge Howe of the police court was awakened and a complaint of carrying dangerous weapons was lodged against the marshal. He was arrested when daylight came and brought into court, where he gave bonds for his appearance later.

By then he was badly frightened, and he had good cause. The men of Worcester were by this time thoroughly aroused. Without a doubt theirs was a dangerous mob spirit. Butman appealed to the police for protection, which was accorded him, and City Marshal Baker took him into his office. Then, while Marshal Baker was outside the building addressing the people and urging them to disperse to their homes, "six or seven colored men broke in and dealt Butman a blow on the knowledge box, which felled him to the ground," as the *Spy* told the story. Fortunately, the marshal returned in time to prevent further injury, and arrested one of the assailants and locked him up. The prisoner did not remain long, but jumped down from a window

a dozen feet to the ground, landing in the press of the crowd. And this added fuel to the flames.

George Frisbie Hoar, then a young lawyer, appealed to his fellow-citizens to desist from their threat against a representative of the Federal Government. The words of his brief speech are preserved as follows: "It was some ten years ago that my father and sister were driven out of Charleston, South Carolina, by an infuriated mob of slaveholders, because, in obedience to a commission issued by the authority of the State of Massachusetts, he had gone thither to test, in the courts of the United States, the validity of those laws under which they imprison our citizens for no crime but the color of their skins; and none of you, I think, will accuse me of having any great sympathy for slaveholders. It is gratifying to see such a feeling of indignation manifested against any individual whose acts have rendered him odious to your eyes—but yet I trust none of you have come here to do him any personal violence. Even in Charleston, low and degraded as a majority of citizens are, some persons were found to maintain the majesty of the law, and to their interference my father and my sister owe the preservation of their lives. Let it not be said of us, citizens of Worcester, that we have less respect for law and order than was manifested by them. Let us all remember that the cause which we all have so much at heart cannot but suffer if we engage in acts of violence against the obnoxious and odious individual who, whatever may have been his past course, assures me that he came here with no intention of molesting a slave. Believing that your sentiments upon this subject are in unison with mine, I have ventured to assure Mr. Butman in your behalf, that he may depart from the city unmolested and in peace; and I have offered to accompany him to the depot, so that he may leave by the earliest train."

A good speech it was, and difficult for its hearers to reject. They listened with respect and apparent conviction. But the sight of Butman issuing from the building rekindled their fury, and they rushed upon him as he paused, white with terror, Mr. Hoar beside him. Violence seemed certain. A few moments more and they would have torn him from the side of his protector and he would have been engulfed in the mob.

But before anyone had realized what had happened, Stephen Foster had the man's other arm, and he was surrounded by a body guard of anti-slavery men—Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Martin Stowell, who, as abolitionists, had been charged in Boston, and others of influence in the community. Should the mob harm Butman, they must first harm their own respected friends and neighbors. "The protection given by these friends of liberty to the person of this cringing coward, whose supposed business they loathed, was a brave and inspiring act."

Under the guard of these enemies of slavery, and of the police, Butman was taken to the Foster Street railroad station. But because of the delay, his train had gone. The mob filled the station. Bitter words were hurled, stones were thrown. Stephen Foster addressed the crowd, assuring them that Butman had promised never again to enter the precincts of Worcester. But there was no movement to disperse. Finally "a hack was procured by order of the city marshal," said the *Spy,* "and into it the poor, abject, debased, degraded and trembling white fugitive was hustled, and the Rev. Mr. Higginson took a seat by his side." The crowd jeered and a dangerous incident ended.

There is little doubt that Butman's visit to Worcester had nothing whatever to do with the negro Jenkins. He had been manumitted, in other words emancipated and set free by his owner, W. E. Taylor, of Norfolk, Virginia, three years before, through the good offices of Hon. Emory Washburn of Worcester. This document was recorded in Norfolk in 1851 and at the office of the Worcester City Clerk, June 9, 1854, and is the only one of its kind ever to be recorded in the county since the days when slavery existed here. It set forth:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, William E. Taylor, of the City of Norfolk and State of Virginia, have manumitted, Emancipated, and set free, and by these presents do manumit, emancipate and set free a mulatto man slave named Henry Jenkins, and sometimes called William Henry Jenkins, who was purchased by me in the year 1837 of the late John N. Walke, of the said City of Norfolk, and I hereby declare him, the said Henry, to be entirely liberated from slavery and entitled to all the rights and privileges of a free person, with which it is in my power to invest him. The said Henry hereby emancipated is a man of light complexion, about five feet eight or nine inches high, and about thirty-five years of age."

But there were other colored people in Worcester and in the towns round about who had escaped from Southern slavery, and it is not unlikely that Deputy Marshal Butman had papers which he proposed to serve in the making of an arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law. But of this there is no known record.

Eli Thayer and the Emigrant Aid Society—In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, repealing the Missouri Compromise Act of 1821, under which slavery could not have been established in either of the two territories. The new act left the decision as to whether they should leave slavery to the vote of their peoples. Today we would call it a plebiscite. Immediately it became a question of colonization. The slavery element sent large bands of armed men to take up residence. The anti-slavery element of the North sought means of taking control of the situation.

Eli Thayer of Worcester found the way. The decision of the territories must rest on "Squatter Sovereignty." So he conceived the Emigrant Aid Society to induce and assist New England men to emigrate into the rich prairie lands and colonize. He believed that the most effective blow to slavery would be delivered by an organized colony whose members had looked all their lives on slavery as a moral wrong.

His plan was first publicly revealed at a meeting held in Worcester City Hall, in March, 1854. As news of it went abroad it was recognized as the solution of a difficult problem, and many prominent people all over the State, in fact all over New England, and elsewhere, lent their aid and contributed their money. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society was incorporated. Its executive committee contained eminent names. The Worcester members were Alexander H. Bullock and Edward Everett Hale, then minister of the Worcester Church of the Unity, and destined to be known as one of the great among Unitarian divines and as a distinguished author. Dr. Charles Robinson of Fitchburg, later to become Governor of Kansas, was sent into the disputed territory to explore its possibilities and to gather information as to conditions generally, a task for which he was eminently well fitted, for he had been a resident of California and had had wide experience in pioneer life. Meetings were held throughout Worcester County and in various other parts of the State.

Each emigrant paid $20, and the society provided tents, hatchets and plows, and, no doubt, firearms, for it was well known that Kansas and Nebraska could not be won without fighting, as was soon proved to be the case. The name of "Bloody Kansas" was truly won. The Free State men, whom the enemy called "Black Republicans" and the even more bitter word "Abolitionists," knew their opponents as "Border Ruffians."

There was an epoch-making meeting one cold morning early in May, in Worcester City Hall. It was conducted by Edward Everett Hale. His audience was composed of men most of whom were to make the long overland journey to Kansas. The great divine himself wrote of the occasion:

"In the great Town Hall, in which I had often spoken to an audience of twelve hundred people, there were perhaps one or two hundred men. They had the look of determination which belongs to the New Englander when he is well wound up and ready to start. People who were engaged in their daily business did not come to the meeting. As I recollect there were few persons there I had ever seen before, but I made some friends there who have been my friends to this day. A heavy storm was raging out of doors.

"There was no 'buncombe' nor 'popcock' in what we said. I was there to explain to them the practical method of going to Kansas, and as well as I

knew how, I did so. These men asked questions—and I gave them the best answers I could. I said that we should arrange for parties of two or three hundred to go together, that we proposed to build for each colony a central boarding house, or boarding houses, in which men could live while they were preparing their houses, and that we should make ourselves responsible for sawmills, printing presses, and other necessary machinery. All these promises we kept. Mr. Thayer bade me say that there would be two thousand men from Massachusetts in a short time. The prophecy of this was more than fulfilled."

To take a paragraph from William E. Barton's *President Lincoln,* 1933: "In 1854, under the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Blue Lodges were organized in Missouri to terrorize the border and make Kansas a slave state; and Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, began organizing his emigrant aid societies with intent to fill up Kansas with settlers from New England, carrying in their covered wagons, as was alleged, not only Bibles but Sharp's rifles, as exponents of their anti-slavery convictions. As Kansas moved toward statehood, her importance either as a free state or a slave state grew enormously. When on November 29, 1854, the polls were opened for the election of a territorial delegate to Congress, the pro-slavery vote of the state, which of itself would have elected a democrat to the House of Representatives, was swelled by the vote of 1,729 residents of Missouri who came over into Kansas to make the territory safe for Democracy. At the beginning it was generally conceded that . . . . Kansas would come in as a slave state; and there appeared for a time no general disposition to contest the result. However, Eli Thayer's Bibles and bullets were making their way into Kansas, and the settlers from New England sent back favorable reports concerning the new territory and its opportunities. The first anti-slavery settlers were followed by considerable numbers of their New England neighbors. . . . . The influx of settlers from the North, surprising though it might appear, outnumbered the immigration from Missouri and the states farther south. Kansas was destined to be a free state." And this was due to Eli Thayer of Worcester County.

The train which took the first group of settlers passed through Worcester July 17, 1854, stopping to take aboard "twenty strong young men." The total number leaving Boston was forty-three. Said the *Spy* next day: "Our friends will all be in Kansas, the Eden of the West, and in a short time will be able to report progress, so that a second delegation of emigrants with all the elements of society and civilization—wives, printing presses, ballot-boxes, school-masters and ministers—may join them." This was soon the case. And because of this emigration, a large part of it made up of Worcester County men, Kansas was admitted a free State in 1861.

The Fosters and the Anti-Slavery Society—The Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society was early in the field. Its records show that in 1847 it had begun to adopt resolutions such as "it is the duty of the non-slave-holding states to immediately secede from the Union." In 1851, while its members rejoiced in the election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate, they declared that he and others occupied an entirely indefensible position because they had taken an oath to defend the Constitution. In 1854, after the formation of the Republican party, the society resolved "that the support of the new party is practical treason to the anti-slavery cause." They were disunionists. They were to learn that the cause of the negro could be served only by the Union.

In Worcester County the Abolitionist leader was Stephen S. Foster, a man of strong intellect, with features rugged as a rock, blue eyes, his hands gnarled and hard from toil, his gestures ungainly, but a voice beautiful to hear. He was described as a man "as nearly as it is possible for a man to be, free from unkind personal feelings." It was typical of him when he said "I love my friend Higginson, but I loathe his opinions."

But as a hater of slavery, he out-Garrisoned William Lloyd Garrison. When on this subject he was a firebrand. He published a pamphlet, *The Brotherhood of Thieves, a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy,* inspired by a belief that they upheld slavery. He entered churches where services were in progress and demanded to be heard on his own anti-slavery doctrines. Frequently he had to be removed by force, and the terms he served in jail and the fines he paid made a long list.

It is related that a slaveholder was permitted to speak from the same platform as representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society. Stephen Foster contradicted one of his statements, and the angry Southerner turned on him. "Do you think, sir," he shouted, "that I would lie?" "Well," was the reply, "I don't know as you would lie, but I do know that you would steal."

Abby Kelly Foster was perhaps a greater woman than her husband was a man. Their views on slavery and means of abolishing it did not conflict. An Irish Quaker by birth, she was educated in a Friends' School, and early abandoned teaching to take the lecture platform in the cause of Abolition. It was no unusual experience for her to have her lecture hall stormed by an angry mob. But her courage would not be put down. She founded the "Anti-Slavery Bugle," was an organizer of the Webster Anti-Slavery Society, and was one of the first women to be admitted to membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society. James Russell Lowell wrote of her:

"A Judith there, turned Quakeress,
Sits Abby in her modern dress.
No nobler gift of heart and brain,

No life more white from spot or stain,
Was e'er on freedom's altar laid,
Than hers—the simple Quaker Maid."

Stephen and Abby Foster settled on a farm in the Tatnuck section of Worcester. The ancient brick house still stands, no longer a farmhouse, but converted into a substantial suburban residence. About the place lingers, and always will linger so long as the house stands, the tradition of a subterranean chamber, where once upon a time slaves were hidden. For this was an important station of the Underground Railroad, and it is beyond all doubt that the Fosters kept concealed many a negro man and woman and child as they awaited safe conveyance to the next station on the long route to Canada. Perhaps there is a hidden chamber. But successive owners of the place have never been able to find it, and they have all tried.

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The Underground Railroad and the Rescue of Shadrach—Mrs. Martha E. Crocker of Leominster, addressing the Fitchburg Historical Society in 1894, told many details of the operations of the Underground Railroad with which most people of today are wholly unacquainted. She said:

"Many people of the North hailed with joy the passage of that odious bill, the Fugitive Slave Law, unjust and inhuman as it was, and how ready and eager they were to receive and bow down in obedience to its behests! This law required citizens of free states to aid in reclaiming and returning to their masters fugitives who escaped from slavery into their jurisdiction, and imposed a penalty of one thousand dollars and imprisonment on every citizen found protecting or aiding them in any way in their escape.

"Many people of the North were willing to do anything to please and conciliate the South which would promote their own selfish interests. These people were intent on business and money making, which were remarkably prosperous at that time, and therefore hailed with joy the announcement that all differences between the diverse sections were now adjusted and settled by the passage of that bill. The terms of the settlement were of no consequence if it only secured to them peace and prosperity. They were in no wise inclined to let the condition and welfare of the colored man interfere with their accumulating gains.

"These Northern sympathizers were called doughfaces; and later, in secession times, copperheads. They were the bloodhounds of the North, ready to scent, hunt, catch and return fugitives to their masters. To another class—the anti-slavery people of the country, who comprised a large and earnest minority—this law was intensely obnoxious, both in principle and practice.

"Indignation meetings were held in many cities and towns, and a determined resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law was manifested. These meetings were often persecuted and treated to rotten eggs, brickbats, etc., by their opponents.

"Underground railroads were projected and put into operation. Depots and stations were systematically arranged all along the line from Boston to Canada, *via* Leominster and Fitchburg, to aid fugitives in their escape to a free country, in defiance of law. Joel Smith, Jonathan Drake and many others in Leominster were superintendents, while Benjamin Snow and S. S. Crocker of Fitchburg were in the same business. These men were engineers, conductors, etc., on the road, and stood faithfully at their posts as long as there was one fugitive to travel over it.

"It was a quiet route. No shrill whistle sounded, no bell was rung to warn of the approaching train, but silently and noiselessly it moved on in the darkness of the night-time, freighted with trembling, oppressed human beings, excluded from God's sunlight, which was created for all His creatures, black as well as white. No mistakes by careless, negligent officials were made, and no accidents ever occurred on the road from Boston to Canada. That 'glorious summer,' which passed in prophetic vision before that great political seer, Daniel Webster, in 1851, never was realized and enjoyed by the people, North or South, till the booming cannon and the whizzing shell had done their terrible and effective work, and thousands of our young men had laid down their lives on the battlefield for peace and liberty.

"Intense excitement and indignation were felt throughout the country when the arrest of Shadrach, Sims and of Anthony Burns was made in Boston. Shadrach escaped, but poor Sims and Burns were tried and doomed to life-long bondage again. Boston's militia and her orthodox citizens were called out to aid in preventing their escape during the trial. Of course they were only acting in obedience to law, forgetting that when a civil law conflicts with the higher one—the law of God—it shall not be obeyed, but trampled under the feet of men. When the trials were over, the victims were marched off with their triumphant masters, by the aid of the good people of the city, to the boat that took them from the boasted land of freedom back to the vile southern domain of slavery.

Shadrach Escapes to Leominster—"Shadrach was the first one of the three arrested, and when on trial a large company of colored people rushed into the court-room and took him out and hustled him into a carriage and drove off to Concord, where he was put aboard the Underground Railroad, came to Leominster and stopped with Mr. Drake for awhile. When there he

attended a meeting disguised in woman's clothing, and was not detected. From Leominster he went to Mr. Snow's at Fitchburg.

"The following evening a little company of friends had gathered at the home of Mr. Crocker to pay the family a visit. Among them was the venerable and good Deacon L———, a conservative anti-slavery man—like many others in the Baptist church and other churches in Fitchburg at that time, as well as in most all of the religious bodies everywhere—who meekly and piously went for obeying the law. This good deacon had a great deal to say about the majesty of the law. 'We must sustain the majesty of the law,' were words always and ever on his lips. This topic was probably the main theme of conversation during the evening. Late, when the company were about to leave, a carriage drove to the door, and lo and behold! there was Mr. Snow with the fleeing Shadrach. He was taken into the house by the side door as quietly as possible, but all felt that something unusual had occurred, and when sufficient promises of secrecy were made by the visitors, the name of the fugitive was announced.

"All were acquainted with circumstances of his arrest and escape. Everyone was anxious and earnest to see him, Deacon L——— with the rest. After much persuasion and promise of secrecy, the fugitive reluctantly went into the room where the people were. They were all much pleased with his appearance and felt disposed to converse a long time. After the prolonged interview with him, Mr. Crocker said to his friends, 'This poor fellow is destitute; it is cold weather, and he is going to Canada to a colder climate. Can't we make up a little purse of money for him?' A hat was passed and every one put into it. Those who had no money with them, borrowed of their neighbors, and a nice little sum was given him. But what became of the 'majesty of the law' about this time? It vanished, and was forgotten in the presence of justice. It was not potent enough to stand before appealing human suffering and distress. When the visitors left for their homes every blessed one of them had broken the law.

"No tale was ever told of that evening's experience by any one. Later on that night Mr. Crocker sent Bolivar Crane, one of his workmen, with his team and Shadrach up to North Ashburnham to the Wards. Mr. Ward was a friend and helper of the fugitives. At his home Shadrach was taken sick and remained secreted in his attic for some time. When sufficiently recovered he went on to Canada where all such were safe from pursuers who hunted them in the states with dog and gun.

"The horse that carried Shadrach and other fleeing fugitives from Fitchburg toward the land of freedom became quite famous, receiving the sobriquet of 'Shadrach.' Everybody was interested in the faithful animal that had done such good service in the cause of freedom and humanity.

Fugitive slaves recently escaped from their Southern masters, were not the only sufferers on the Fugitive Slave Act. Negroes who had run away to liberty in Massachusetts long before now lived in constant terror that they would be recognized and seized. To proceed with the narrative: "Another instance of the working of that odious law occurred in Fitchburg during these dark times. A family named Williams, consisting of a man, his wife and two daughters, living in Boston, became alarmed, as one colored person after another was seized in the city and sent back South. Mr. Williams had been a slave in Kentucky, and was manumitted a few years before, had free papers, but feared, notwithstanding his papers, for his own safety and that of his family. His wife was formerly a slave in Virginia, and by a very bold and hazardous effort, escaped with her two little girls and came North. She married Mr. Williams, and they lived industriously and comfortably up to these times. Feeling that it was not safe to live in Boston longer, they came to Fitchburg. A little cabin was fitted up for them on Mr. Crocker's land, where they lived several months, the family all obtaining employment. The two girls worked in the mill. Mrs. Williams was a capable, energetic woman, and found plenty of work to do. Several evening hours every week were devoted to teaching the family, as some of them could not read.

"They were all comfortable, contented and happy up to the time of Burns' arrest, when their peace and happiness ended. When the girls first entered the mill to work, it made quite a disturbance among the help. One of the best girls presented herself before one of the proprietors and called for a settlement, saying that she was going to leave. Mr. Crocker asked her reasons, and she replied she wouldn't work with 'Niggers.' He said, 'Very well,' and paid her off, probably very much to her surprise and disappointment, she thinking no doubt, that the 'niggers' would be discharged and herself retained. The promptness by which her request was responded to was sufficient for the rest of the employees, who made no further trouble.

"One of the family was taken ill, and Dr. Pillsbury was called. He asked the old lady what she should do if she heard the slave hunters were in town. She replied: 'I should start right quick! I always keep my heels greased'; adding, 'I would rather go to the bottom of the near mill-pond than to be found by them.'

"The family finally, through fear, left all that was comfortable and pleasant and went with the others to Canada, enduring the cold rigors of that land in order to be where slave-masters and hunters would trouble no more. Ever after the arrest of Burns, until they left, whenever Mr. Williams came about the Crocker house and met any one, the poor old man would shake his head and exclaim: 'Drefful times, drefful times!'

Historic Bell Peals for Emancipation—"January 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln sent forth to the world his 'Proclamation of Emancipation.' On that memorable day, a bell pealed forth in the town of Fitchburg which thrilled the hearts of every lover of liberty. It pealed forth for the first time for freedom. Hitherto it had clanged for slavery on the soil of the South. Many had been waiting long to hear it, but it had kept silent. A citizen had given it to the church with this one stipulation—that its first peal should tell of freedom to the slave.

"Benjamin Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg 'bid off' this bell at an auction in Boston. It had been captured with many others by General Butler from the rebels at New Orleans. They had stripped them from their churches and plantations to convert them into munitions of war.

"As was intended, it was first rung on the day of the President's Emancipation Proclamation and Mr. Snow rang it himself!"

The Old Plantation Bell, as it is known, has been ringing from a belfry in Fitchburg ever since it rang for Emancipation. It tolled for Abraham Lincoln, and for others good and great. When Gettysburg was won, when Lee surrendered at Appomattox, when Dewey smashed the Spanish fleet at Santiago; when the glorious news of the Armistice told the end of the World War, and on many another momentous occasion, it has sent forth its patriotic message. And year after year it has summoned the people to worship.

A strange history, that of the old Plantation Bell, eight hundred pounds of metal, cast in the Buckeye Foundry at Cincinnati in 1856. When the Civil War came it was calling slaves to labor on a Mississippi plantation. It was waiting its turn to be cast into a cannon when Farragut and Butler captured New Orleans, and was sent North.

It was first hung in the tower of the Trinitarian Church, where the Abolitionists worshipped. With the close of the war and the complete abolition of slavery, the need disappeared of a church where that institution could be preached against as the extreme anti-slavery people believed. So the congregation disbanded and its members joined with other churches. The First Congregational Church bought the bell and hung it in its belfry. There, for nearly three-quarters of a century, its musical ringing has been a familiar sound among the people.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Civil War

Scores of volumes have been published on the history of Massachusetts in the Civil War, including several thousand pages relating to the military and civilian activities of Worcester, city and county. To these the serious student of this period in the annals of Worcester must be referred, since the following review can only be a summary. In the preceding chapters of this work attention has been drawn to the valor of a relatively unmilitary citizenry displayed in wars, Indian, Colonial, Revolutionary and others, without, however, endeavoring to indicate the development of the militia, or volunteer, system of defense, the strength and weakness of which has made itself felt in every military crisis of America. The first settlers of Worcester were familiar with the militia system of old England under county lieutenants, and followed it when founding early towns. Every able man was compelled to have arms, ammunition and equipment, to drill occasionally, and to come to the aid of his neighbor. These loosely-knitted organizations were seldom called out for service away from their own locality. Prior to the Revolution the militia companies often emphasized the social element over the military. Despite the criticisms of Washington and other officers, the militia of the Worcester region made substantial and worthy contributions to the armed forces in the Revolution. Some of the companies formed at that time have creditable records in the several wars of the Nation since that day, notably the Civil War. It was not until 1840 that the "territorial company" was abolished, and an act passed, "that the active militia of this Commonwealth shall consist, and be composed of, volunteers of companies raised at large."

In the Civil War the M. V. M., or the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, a terminology retained by the State until 1916, when a national law compelled a change to National Guard, gave an especially good account of itself when most sections of the country had but few trained, organized, and equipped troops to offer the Federal Government. Solidarity was lacking it is true and

there was no equivalent to a standing or national army. Each militia company had its own color and style of uniform, elected its own officers, owned its armory and had a special name, as for example, the Worcester Light Infantry, the Worcester City Guards, the Emmet Guards, the Holden Rifles, Fitchburg Fusiliers, and others. There were local jealousies, indifference to drills, and the town meeting style of government which was not conducive to the selection of efficient officers. No warfare had stirred Massachusetts deeply since the Revolution, for both the War of 1812 and the Mexican conflict were unpopular in New England. Whatever the faults of its militia system, Massachusetts sent the first regiment to the rescue of the Nation's Capital, and in this unit was a large number of Worcester militia. The city and county had representatives in three of the first five regiments assembled in the State. Incidentally, Massachusetts was in the van of the Union in the immediate response to the call of President Lincoln for troops, and the Commonwealth was equalled by no other State in the fitness, arms and equipment of its volunteers. A similar boast can be made also in connection with the Spanish-American and the World wars.

Worcester County, like the most of the other parts of the State, in 1861, was divided in sentiment in regard to the growing discord between the North and the South. It had cast the majority of its votes for the radical John A. Andrew as Governor, but, as a whole objected to the holding together of the Union at the price of war. Governor Andrew, in January, 1861, went ahead with preparations of war, securing an emergency appropriation of $100,000, and establishing a war council of military experts. The militia units were required to weed out its members unable to render active service and requested to fill to the full limit its ranks. The Worcester Light Infantry, Emmet Guards, and other M. V. M. organizations throughout the county, set about perfecting their organizations, without regard to political opinion. On April 14, 1861, came the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter, at Charleston, South Carolina. All differences of opinion were cast aside, and upon the following day, Monday, the Worcester militia companies gathered in their armories. A day later, they were prepared to reply to any call from the government. On that very day, April 16, orders came for the Worcester Light Infantry to join the 6th Regiment in Boston, and proceed to Washington. There was confusion, the liberal cutting of red tape, greetings and partings, but it is notable that somehow, within forty-eight hours, the Worcester troops were on their way, and within fifty hours, Massachusetts' first regiment was ready to start South.

In Worcester a patriotic mass meeting was held in the City Hall, and the people called to arms. Posters throughout the county urged: "Enroll and

Drill your men. Be true to the Spirit and Blood of your Ancestors. Respond with Promptness to the Call of your Country." In the chill of the morning an address was made to the departing Worcester volunteers, a Bible presented to each, and then the raw soldiers marched to the railroad station under the command of Captain Harrison W. Pratt. By noon of the next day, the Worcester Light Infantry, now a part of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment, had exchanged their old smooth-bore muskets for new rifles, and the formal act of the presentation of the colors to the regiment took place. This scene was repeated many times during the following four years, and to this day may be seen reproduced in the soldiers' monument on Boston Common.

The experiences of the 6th Regiment in making their way to Washington brought home to Worcester and New England the reality of war with a shock that was profound and alarming. Nothing untoward happened as it passed through New York, or even Baltimore, until after railroad cars drawn by horses through the streets of that city, carrying seven companies, had passed with safety. Then the cars containing the other three companies were stopped by a mob of Southern sympathizers, and the troops forced to fight their way to their companions ahead. In the mêlée four soldiers were killed and thirty-six wounded. Obliged to fire on the mob, many were slain. Bridges were burned on the route to Washington, and the Capital thus isolated from the North. The 6th reached Washington on April 19, 1861, and were reviewed by President Lincoln and General Scott, while Clara Barton, of Oxford, later to become famous in connection with the American Red Cross Society, and Mrs. B. B. Vassall, of Worcester, directed their reception and attended to their needs. It was the first regiment in the country to answer to the call of the President, and Lincoln told them: "I begin to believe there is no North. The 7th Regiment (New York) is a myth. Rhode Island is another. You are the only real thing."

It was the evening of the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington that the word came: "The 6th Regiment had been cutting its way through the streets of Baltimore, whose pavements were reddened with its blood . . . . Never after did any news so lift us above ourselves, so transform earthly weakness into heavenly might." (Governor Andrew.) Worcester had spent an exciting week in getting its boys off to Washington, but the conflict with a rebel mob, the cutting off for a time of all communications with the National Capital, brought home the knowledge that a state of warfare existed and a sober recognition of this fact must be faced. Emotional enthusiasm was replaced by exalted consecration. There was such an outpouring of patriotism as seldom had been witnessed. Men and women offered themselves for any service. Great quantities of food, clothes and all manner of supplies were

donated. Money was proffered by individuals and financial institutions. Drs. George H. Lyman and William J. Dale took charge of furnishing medical supplies, and with other physicians laid the foundation of a military medical department in Massachusetts, which was a model for other states. The women then, and all through the war, made remarkable record—Clara Barton, of Oxford, and Mrs. B. B. Vassall, of Worcester, were but the forerunners of hundreds of their sex who rendered notable service. Worcester County women were not the first by a few days, to form the committees which became the nucleus of the Sanitary Commission, the precursor of the Red Cross, but the name of Clara Barton stands out in the limelight. Worcester County was among the foremost in the country in the organization of Women's Auxiliary Societies of the Sanitary Commission. It must not be forgotten in our familiarity with the work of the Red Cross, that the ladies of the 'sixties broke new ground in their work and were the pioneers in this field of mercy in the time of war.

There is neither the need, nor the space, for extended accounts of the civilian and military activities of Worcester during the long years of the Rebellion. Books have been written that have to do with the history of regiments and even smaller military units. There were more than a dozen Massachusetts regiments that contained large numbers of Worcester soldiers, and very many more in which some from the county's cities and towns enlisted. Almost coincident with the departure of the Worcester Light Infantry, with the 6th Massachusetts Regiment, was the mobilization of the Emmet Guards, Worcester City Guards, and the Holden Rifles, all included in the 3d Battalion of Rifles, attached to the 5th Regiment, Colonel Lawrence commanding. The battalion left Worcester on April 20, 1861, embarked the following day at New York for Annapolis, Maryland, and arrived on May 3, at Fort McHenry. These were the last of the "three-months" men sent to the front in the first emergency. On May 3, 1861, the President issued a proclamation calling for volunteers for a period of three years service, or the duration of the war. As in the World War, the original National Guard units or the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia were received as a whole but later distributed among all branches of the military, although in Civil War this disintegration was not nearly so complete as in the later conflict. As to the value of the activities of these pioneer regiments, which included so many Worcester volunteer organizations, the Adjutant-General's report of 1861, said in part:

"They were the first to respond to the call of the President; the first to march through Baltimore to the defense of the Capital; the first to shed their blood for the maintenance of our Government; the first to open the new route

to Washington by way of Annapolis; the first to land on the soil of Virginia; the first to make the voyage on the Potomac and to approach the Federal City by water, as they had been the first to reach it by land. They upheld the good name of the State during their entire term of service, as well by their good conduct and gentlemanly bearing, as by their courage and devotion to duty in the hour of peril. They proved the sterling worth of our volunteer militia. Their record is one which will ever redound to the honor of Massachusetts, and will be prized among her richest historic treasures. These men have added new splendor to our Revolutionary annals; and the brave sons who were shot down in the streets of Baltimore on the 19th of April, have rendered doubly sacred the day when the greensward of Lexington Common was drenched to the blood of their fathers."

In a less oratorical fashion it may be pointed out that one of the most important features of the services rendered by these early regiments was in providing experienced officers to companies and regiments formed later. Many won general's stars and all grades of commissions were earned. Major Devens, of the 6th Regiment, together with Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward, of Worcester, and Major John W. Kimball were the senior officers of the famous "Fifteenth" Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. A statue of General Devens was erected to his honor and placed near the State House, and one of the great cantonments of the World War bore his name. The 15th Regiment was recruited mainly in Worcester as was the 15th Regiment of the Massachusetts Line, organized in January, 1777, and commanded by Colonel Timothy Bigelow. This Revolutionary unit was in the field to the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown. The Civil War "Fifteenth," after less than six weeks training was sent to Washington, and soon after participated in the fateful fight at Ball's Bluff. Only three hundred and eleven out of six hundred and twenty-one who entered the engagement were able to report for duty the following day. Its depleted ranks, of course, were again brought to full strength and went on to further and more bloody battles. General McClellan, said of the action at Ball's Bluff, "Nothing had occurred in the war yet equal to the heroic conduct of the 15th Massachusetts."

The 6th, 5th, 15th, were the first of the numerous regiments containing Worcester's volunteers. There were three others which were recruited in 1861: the 21st, Colonel Augustus Morse, which left Worcester on August 23, which was with the General Burnside expedition into Virginia, and won "great praise and distinction in the second battle of Bull Run, and altogether took part in twenty-three battles of the war." The 25th Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment, best known as the "Worcester County Regiment," dated from September, 1861, with Colonel Upton and Lieutenant-Colonel Sprague

as senior officers. It continued under arms until July, 1865. The 36th Regiment, was also of Worcester origin, and of September, 1861, formation.

The year 1862 brought understanding to the enthusiasts of the North, but not during the early months. Expectation and campaigning had been conducted so far on the notion that one crushing battle would end the war. The Army of the Potomac was sent against Richmond, and so certain were the military authorities that there were troops enough already in the United States Army to accomplish all purposes, that on April 3, 1862, all recruiting in the country was ordered stopped. When two opposing armies met, comprising 200,000 men, and the Union troops came out a back second-best, knowledge came of what warfare meant and its tremendous man-power requirements. On July 4, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men, for three years' service. In modern fashion Governor Andrew had sent to every city and town in Massachusetts the quota of men each was required to provide. The Worcester section was in no wise dismayed by new demands and organized to meet the new requirements, and did so in about two months. In the midst of this recruiting, came a Presidential call for another 300,000 troops by draft. However just the draft system, it was then, and probably at a later period, unnecessary in Massachusetts. The additional contingent was supplied by voluntary enlistment.

Without attempting to treat of the progress of the war until the collapse of the Confederacy in 1865, the brief naming of most of the regiments and units containing Worcester men raised after 1861, is the minimum tribute that may be paid to the devoted efforts of the people of the city and county during those long and disheartening years of the Civil War. As summarized by E. Melvin Williams from voluminous records, and here still further condensed: The 34th Regiment was composed of Worcester and Western Massachusetts men. It left in August, 1862, for Virginia. It suffered heavy casualties at the battle of Piedmont, and at Winchester in September, 1863, lost one hundred and ten men out of three hundred engaged. During the year's campaign it marched a thousand miles, fought in nine battles; the colonel, major, two captains, three lieutenants and seventy-three men were killed, the lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and a lieutenant severely wounded and captured; twenty-nine other officers and six hundred and thirteen men were wounded, leaving only eight officers and three hundred and two men fit for duty. The 51st Regiment, under Colonel Ward, sailed from Boston in November, 1862, for North Carolina, and within a week was in action. The regiment returned to Worcester in July, 1863, with a loss of one hundred and thirty men. The 42d Regiment had some Worcester men in Company E. Company I, of the 50th Regiment, was from Worcester, Captain Nicholas Power commander. Worcester was well represented in the 57th Regiment, raised in April, 1864.

The 2d Regiment of Heavy Artillery had ninety-four men from Worcester, including Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. R. Sprague. The 4th Artillery, enlisted in 1864, for one year, contained two hundred and thirteen men from Worcester. First Battalion Heavy Artillery had 65 men from Worcester. The 2d Regiment of Cavalry held 55 Worcester men, serving from 1863 to the end of the war, and participating in the Grand Review at Washington afterwards. Twenty-four men of Worcester served in the 4th Regiment of Cavalry, and were among the first troops to enter Richmond after the surrender of Lee. Twenty-five Worcester men joined the 5th Regiment of Cavalry, the only regiment of colored cavalry, in the spring of 1864. Worcester's naval record embraces service by about one hundred and sixty men, including Commodore George C. Blake, who was superintendent at the Naval Academy from 1858 to 1865. Captain J. C. Dutch commanded the U. S. barque *Kingfisher* in 1863. Worcester army surgeons include Drs. Oramel Martin, Joseph N. Bates, J. Marcus Rice, Samuel Flagg, Horace Mecorney; and three chaplains are named: Revs. Charles T. Canfield, Gilbert Cummings, and Horace James.

The apportionment of credit for the number of soldiers provided by Worcester and the towns of the county is even to this day practically impossible. Men from the towns and villages enlisted in the cities and there is duplication of records and differences in methods of reporting. Quotas were more than filled in almost all of the towns. It is not unusual to find municipalities that sent ten per cent. of their population into the armies. Webster made the best record in the county as regards the surplus of volunteers. Berlin, then a place of 1,100 population sent one hundred and thirty-nine soldiers, twenty-two of whom were killed. Bolton had men in twenty-eight regiments during the war although its population was less than eight hundred. The names of two hundred and fifty-seven residents of Northbridge are listed in connection with forty-three different military organizations of the war. Petersham had but one hundred and eighty-eight men of war service age, and there were one hundred and seventy-seven enlistments. Out of the fifty-four towns of importance in the county, all but six enrolled more than a hundred men each. Athol furnished three hundred and thirty-five men; Barre, three hundred and nineteen; Clinton, four hundred and nineteen; Grafton, three hundred and ninety-three; Leicester, three hundred and twenty; Leominster, four hundred and four; Millbury, four hundred and three; Northbridge, three hundred and eleven; Oxford, three hundred; Southbridge, four hundred; Spencer, three hundred and nineteen; Uxbridge, three hundred; Westboro, three hundred and thirty-seven.

Fitchburg sent to the front its two long-established military units, the Fitchburg Fusiliers, whose history dates from 1816, succeeding the old

"South Company," which was organized before 1807; and the Washington Guards, which was organized in 1855, formed the nucleus and incentive for other Fitchburg units raised during the Civil War. The Fitchburg Fusiliers became Company B, of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment, which went into camp on June 28, 1861; the record of this regiment will be followed in another chapter. The Washington Guards formed the nucleus of six companies. Altogether Fitchburg sent nine companies into the field, and in the final accounting was found to have supplied "seventy-five men surplus above all demands upon it," "a record of which it may well be proud and one well worth preserving," according to *Fitchburg in the Civil War.* The nine Fitchburg companies referred to were Company D of 2d Regiment, Company B of 15th Regiment; Company D of 21st Regiment; Company F of 25th Regiment; Company A, of 36th Regiment; Companies A and B of 53d Regiment; Company F of 57th Regiment; Company H of the 4th Heavy Artillery was the last raised in Fitchburg, going into service for one year on July 18, 1864. Hurd's *History of Fitchburg* (1889) sums up Fitchburg's contribution thus: By way of summary, it may be stated that of the citizens of this town who went to the war, one was brevet brigadier-general, two were colonels, two majors, two surgeons, four brevet majors, seventeen captains, twenty first lieutenants, seven second lieutenants, three navy officers and sixteen seamen in the navy, six hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, making a grand total of seven hundred and sixty-nine men—nearly one-tenth of Fitchburg's population at that time. Of this number, sixty were killed in battle, sixty-eight died from wounds, disease, or starvation in rebel prisons, twenty-five were taken prisoners and eighty-four received wounds from which they recovered. To Fitchburg veterans goes the credit for founding, in December, 1865, Taylor Union, No. 1, the inspiration of that fast disappearing organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, instituted in April, 1866. Later the members of Taylor Union, No. 1 merged with the Edwin V. Summer Post, No. 19, Grand Army of the Republic.

Of the civilian aspect of wartime activities little history is ever written, although its importance is tremendous and involves an unusually large proportion of the population. It is estimated that it takes four at home to provide for the military needs of the soldiers at the front. There was no elaborate organization of adults and children in the 1860's such as characterized the World War, but there were special town and city meetings, committees, local branches of such organizations as the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, forerunner to the Red Cross, the Soldiers' Relief Committee, and community efforts fully comparable to those of a later and greater day. This activity was prolonged over years instead of months; a greater portion of the male citizenry was in the armies; and the proportionate number of those who made

the last sacrifice was very much greater. The wounded were usually sent home to recover, thereby emphasizing the horrors and the suspense of conflict as never before or since.

In April, 1861, Worcester in a wild outburst of enthusiasm, addressed its people, "Patriots, To Arms! To Arms! Enroll and Drill your Men. Be True to the Spirit and Blood of your Ancestors. Respond with Promptness to the Call of your Country." In April, 1865, what wonder that the city burst into almost hysterical rejoicing at the news of the surrender of General Lee? "A hundred guns were fired on the Common; John Boyden's 'Secesh Bell,' which rang for every Union victory, was sounded; the people left their beds and assembled in the streets, shouting and cheering till they were hoarse. Bonfires were lighted in every part of the city. . . . The celebration continued until dawn" and throughout the next day. On December 22, 1865, there was a most impressive scene in Boston. In the beginning of the war, Governor Andrew presented the colors to each departing regiment. On that December day four years later, troops marched to the State House, and the color bearer of each regiment left the ranks to return to the Governor the standards they had defended at so great cost.

CIVIL WAR RECORD OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

Town.	*Population 1860.*	*Number of Men in Service.*	*Killed, Missing or Died of Disease.*
Ashburnham	2,108	243	32
Athol	2,604	387	51
Auburn	914	97	15
Barre	2,973	319	59
Berlin	1,106	130	23
Blackstone	5,453	720	*87
Bolton	1,348	151	21
Boylston	929	80	10
Brookfield	2,276	255	48
Charlton	2,047	213	37
Clinton	3,859	419	67
Dana	876	88	4
Douglas	2,442	250	47
Dudley	1,736	200	27
Fitchburg	7,805	859	128
Gardner	2,646	287	27
Grafton	4,317	399	59
Hardwick	1,521	180	23
Harvard	1,507	129	15
Holden	1,945	204	30
Hubbardston	1,621	168	44
Lancaster	1,932	181	50
Leicester	2,748	272	33
Leominster	3,522	404	46
Lunenburg	1,212	141	30
Mendon	1,351	156	19
Milford	9,132	1,205	140
Millbury	3,296	403	32

CIVIL WAR RECORD OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

Town.	*Population 1860.*	*Number of Men in Service.*	*Killed, Missing or Died of Disease.*
New Braintree	805	78	10
Northboro	1,565	142	25
Northbridge	2,633	311	34
North Brookfield	2,760	247	30
Oakham	959	111	23
Oxford	3,034	293	61
Paxton	725	66	15
Petersham	1,465	177	26
Phillipston	764	76	9
Princeton	1,201	124	19
Royalston	1,486	148	36
Rutland	1,076	111	12
Shrewsbury	1,558	177	29
Southboro	1,854	219	17
Southbridge	3,575	400	27
Spencer	2,777	319	43
Sterling	1,881	178	21
Sturbridge	2,282	235	27
Sutton	2,676	223	21
Templeton	2,816	344	47
Upton	1,986	219	*26
Uxbridge	3,133	290	19
Warren	2,107	203	19
Webster	2,912	367	49
Westboro	2,913	340	25
West Boylston	2,509	240	31
West Brookfield	1,548	159	24
Westminster	1,840	166	34
Winchendon	2,624	294	49
Worcester	24,960	4,227	398
	159,659	19,024	2,316

*Records missing. Estimated.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Churches

Worcester, county and city, are notably religious, more so than most American sections, judged by the number of churches, and their members. The present day citizen of the county may be less interested in theology and religious dogmatics than were the first settlers some two hundred and fifty years ago when a "meeting house" was the nucleus of a town, but this is no evidence of irreligiousness. Every census provides convincing proof of a constant increase in the number of adherents of the church societies of Worcester. The churches are the visible manifestations of faiths fervently held, and ecclesiastical records supply the materials from which the history, not only of religious development but also of the development of municipalities, is written and interpreted. In the final analysis there are few forces more powerful in shaping the destinies of people, than the religion they profess, for this is their ultimate philosophy of the meaning of life, the basis of their ideas, ideals, and activities. Sectarian differences have little to do with progress and prosperity, for all the denominations represented in this part of Massachusetts have been of moral value and have made for good. The Puritan Colonies in what is now Worcester County included nothing in their charters or purposes providing for liberty in worship. These small first hamlets have become villages and towns and cities where liberty of conscience seems to approach license. Instead of a single church supported by public taxation and responsible only to its own self-constituted authorities, there are now many churches, too many perhaps, supported solely by members, and which manage their affairs without interference with, or from, the outside.

One of the most remarkable features of religious history in the Worcester region, particularly its county seat and other cities, is the changes that have taken place, particularly in the rise and fall of denominations. For almost a century Puritan, or Trinitarian, Congregationalism stood almost alone. Then followed a half century during which people holding other faiths entered the

FIRST PARISH CHURCH, UNITARIAN, LANCASTER

Dedicated in 1717, designed by Charles Bulfinch, architect of Boston State House

communities and tried to establish their own sects, in the fear of determined opposition and unfair laws. Even those of Catholic faith who settled in the county in the first half of the eighteenth century found it advisable to conform to the dominant religion of that period. As late as 1772 Colonial Massachusetts went on record that while religious toleration was "what all good and candid minds in all ages have ever practiced," its benefits were not to be extended to Roman Catholics because their belief was "subversive of society." There were, by Revolutionary times, a very few Baptist churches of the Roger Williams order, in the county, and a few Methodist bodies, survivals of the "Great Awakening" of a half century earlier.

The American Revolution either marked the beginning of heterodoxy in religions, or was the cause of it. Some authorities hold that the Revolution so filled men's minds with the idea of freedom in all things that the coercive features of Puritanism was resented and a more liberal basis of worship sought. Modernists point out that war is one of the most demoralizing of forces, in that "vice and immorality follow in the wake of armies." One thing is certain, that at the time of the founding of the Commonwealth religion was in a generally enfeebled condition, and the straight line of orthodoxy held few attractions. Unitarianism had filtered into the Congregational churches, although it was not until a quarter of a century had passed that the contrast between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism became manifest and led to the conflict out of which the Unitarians came the victors, at least in Massachusetts.

The early years of the last century were an era of increased numbers of churches founded in Worcester County of denominations not of Puritan origin. Even the Roman Catholic Church, against which prejudice fought even when the ranks of Protestantism were in disarray, managed to get a foothold. As immigrants poured into the region, more especially when the turnpike fever raged, the Blackstone Canal was under construction, and the later railroads were projected, both the character of the population and of its religions began a change that has progressed with increasing speed since. Rev. Robert Howard Lord, Ph. D., sometime professor of history in Harvard University, has written:

"In little more than a century the religious and social structure of this once fundamentally Anglo-Saxon and exclusively Protestant Commonwealth had been profoundly altered by the incoming of other racial elements and the vast growth of the Roman Church, to the point where the majority of the population is now of other than English stock, and as far as church affiliations are concerned, Massachusetts is today more nearly Catholic than anything else. History affords few parallels to this transformation. Its conse-

quences, though they cannot be fully evaluated today, can scarcely fail to be momentous.

"This great upbuilding of the older church has taken place in a region which was originally the stronghold of ultra-Protestantism, and of all American communities the one most passionately hostile to 'popery.' It was effected, moreover, mainly by the Irish, of all newcomers those in some ways most antipathetic to the older stock. Racial antagonisms were thus added to religious ones to produce that 'dead wall of prejudice and hatred, hard as the granite of our eternal hills,' which Catholicism has had to encounter in this Commonwealth."

Although written of Boston, the following comment has as true an application to Worcester:

"Out of all the clashings of Puritans and Quakers, Calvinists and Arminians, Trinitarians and Unitarians, Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Conservatives and Radicals in religion and politics, which Boston has seen, has emerged the ideal of free thought, free speech, and toleration of many points of view; an attitude which has become ingrained and chronic, and that today makes Boston a singularly attractive place of residence for persons who elsewhere have suffered from tyranny or cramping environment. The result is a measure of present amity between former foes of historically hostile faiths, which is unprecedented, while at the same time there is a candor in expressing diverse point of view without diminishing personal and sectarian goodwill which is the surest proof of the high measure of civilization to which the section has attained." (G. P. Morris in *New England.*)

Without attempting here to trace the changes in faiths, or the numerical differences between the churches, from the old days to the new, one may point out that the whole trend of the years has been towards bringing breadth, freedom, elasticity and joy to religion. The emphasis in the churches is now centered upon the psychology of religion, rather than on theology. The demand is for religious educators, teachers of philanthropy, ethics and practical religion. In the supplying of this the modern churches have been as direct, rational and efficient as the citizens of the section have been in their politics and business. Few large cities are more noted for their benevolences than those of Worcester, and in their order of size, Fitchburg, Leominster and Gardner have kept pace. Some of the characteristics of present day ecclesiastical practice are direct survivals of the original faith, or polity. Many of the ideas of stewardship of means, standards of personal and civic conduct, have their roots in the early theocratic government. More especially has the high place that the minister or priest holds in the community been retained. The clergyman still counts as a man of influence, as a

moulder of public opinion, as a citizen conspicuously qualified to shape the practical policy of the administration of schools, libraries, charities and local government. His preaching is less controversial, the altered social structure and conditions of living have made impossible some of the oldtime pastoral supervision, and he has not the direct censorship of folk that were the privileges of founders of the church he now serves. All of which probably contributes to the power he wields.

No detailed history of the separate denominations and their church organizations now represented in the county can be attempted in the space allotted to this chapter. This has been ably done in earlier general histories of the region, and in numerous special histories published by denominations and individual churches. We must rest content here with paragraphs where pages are needed, with brief statements concerning beginnings, prominent personalities, and a few of the outstanding events and movements in religion. There are a hundred churches in Worcester city alone, and more than that in the other cities and towns of the county, and these are divided among more than thirty separate denominational organizations.

It is a deserved tribute to a remarkable person, rather than historical accuracy, to write of the good John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians" as the first minister of Worcester County. History records the various efforts made from 1642 to 1676 to settle the Nipmuck country, as this region was then known. Indians were responsible for the failures of these attempts, and to some of whom the "Apostle" had preached and taught. This devoted young man, a graduate of Cambridge University, came to Roxbury of the Massachusetts Colony, in 1632, to serve as pastor of its church. He evidently took more seriously than the early Puritans the avowed purpose of our forefathers in coming to this country, the evangelizing the heathen natives of the land. When the aborigines received one of their first lessons in religion in the extermination of the Pequods in 1637, Eliot was awarded a captive as his bond servant, and from him learned the Indian tongue. The minister translated the Bible into the Indian, and also a primer, a catechism and other works, which were printed upon the only press in the Colony. These tremendous labors were but the first of greater ones, for from 1646 he was missionary extraordinary to the Indians from the Nipmuck country to Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The mistakes he made were few, the most serious being the attempt to segegrate his converts in permanent villages after the English fashion. The so-called "Praying Indians" and "Praying Towns" were chief among the results of his endeavors. In chapter four of this history, a full account is given of John Eliot, his converts and their towns, a number of which were located in what is now Worcester County. Eliot was

the first regular preacher in the region, and although his sermons were delivered mostly in the Indian tongue, he also visited the few white men in the territory and ministered unto them also. Daniel Gookin, a power among the Puritans, accompanied him on many occasions, and in 1674 was with him when seven new "Praying villages" were added to the original Biblical seven. Five of the second group were in the area of the present county. The practical end of John Eliot's work and of the English settlements in the Nipmuck County came in 1675 with King Philip's War.

In 1676 there were four named "towns"—Lancaster, Mendon, Brookfield, and Quinsigamond (Worcester)—settlements in name only due to Indian massacres. In the Puritan theocracy, a town was a religio-business organization, a combination church and State. A meetinghouse was usually the first public building, the minister the outstanding public servant, and both supported by the Colonists. Church attendance was required of citizens, and lands were set apart for the meetinghouse and for the first pastors. This held strictly true only until the Massachusetts Bay charter was abrogated in 1684, a sufficiently long period to permit the Congregational Church to become firmly established and the only State church. It was years before other denominations gained sufficient influence to secure exemption of their organizations from taxes levied to support the Congregational Church, the latter named having acquired the status of a town church. True religious and political liberty began nominally with the separation of the State and Church by the Eleventh Amendment, but not completely until the Statute of 1887 (Chapter 419) "freed the people from compulsory support of churches by taking away from the religious societies, or parishes, all power of taxation."

The first of the original towns of Worcester County, Lancaster, was founded in 1643-47. Incorporated on May 18, 1653, a covenant of laws and orders drawn up by six "prudentiall men of said Towne," which all had to sign to become citizens, had in its first articles, provisions for "Church Landes" a "Convenient meeting house for the Publique Assembling," a minister's house and a ten shilling tax on house lots for the support of the ministry. In intent, if not in word, these provisions are found in town charter agreements of the other earlier towns. Joseph Rowlandson, aged twenty-two and the lone graduate in 1652, of Harvard College, arrived in 1654 to be the first minister of the "plantation" or town. He evidently had a difficult time living on a fifty-pound salary, and was disheartened also by the failure to build a meetinghouse, and only a call from Billerica aroused the people to the raising of his salary and a church. The meetinghouse was built in that same year, 1658, and the Lancaster Church was formally organized two years later. Church records are missing of the years prior to 1708, when Rev.

John Prentice was made pastor, and none exist of town meetings from 1671-1717. Other accounts relate that in the Indian depredations of February, 1676 (O. S.) most of the citizens of the town took refuge in the minister's house, of whom a number were killed and the rest surrendered. His house was burned at this time and all but two of the buildings in the place destroyed a few weeks later. The inhabitants returned, however, after a few weeks, and Rev. John Whiting became the pastor of the settlement in November, 1690. Another meetinghouse was erected in 1706, when Lancaster was a town of several hundred population. Most of the first pastors of the Lancaster First Church died at their posts or were retired because of the infirmities of old age. After John Whiting came Rev. Andrew Gardner, in 1701, and after his death in 1704 he was succeeded by Rev. John Prentice, who was pastor for forty-three years before he died. Rev. Timothy Harrington, the successor, was pastor for forty-seven years, and was followed by Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, in 1793, who also lived and labored for forty-seven years. In 1916 the First Church celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the building of its fifth meetinghouse. Of the other churches in Lancaster: The First Evangelical was organized in 1839; the Universalist Society dates from 1838; the New Jerusalem Church was founded, possibly, in the later 'thirties, but not legally organized until 1876. A Catholic chapel was consecrated in 1873; the Seventh Day Adventist Church was organized in South Lancaster in 1864 and an edifice built in 1878.

Mendon, second of the original settlements in the later Worcester County, started in 1659, promised in its petition for a new "plantation" to get under way when a full number of persons, "with an able minister" should appear. It would seem that no able minister appeared until a few years later, 1864, or earlier, Mr. John Rayner. Rev. Joseph Emerson was the pastor of the town in 1669, and has generally been accepted as the first of the many Mendon clergymen. A meetinghouse was constructed in 1669, which had two successors prior to the building of a fourth in 1730. The first church was destroyed in 1675 and not replaced until 1680, when a classmate of Cotton Mather, one Rev. Grindel Rawson, arrived at the parish, but did not become its settled minister until 1684. Among the early pastors of the Mendon Church were Rev. Joseph Dorr, who died in 1768 after a service of fifty-two years. The religious organizations became Unitarian, in 1818, under Rev. Simeon Doggett, who was dismissed in 1827. The First Parish Church was erected in 1820; the North Congregational Church was founded in 1828; a Methodist Church was started in 1853, and there was a Friends' Meetinghouse built in Mendon village, in 1729, which was used until 1841 by the Quakers. The East Blackstone Friends' Meetinghouse was erected in 1812.

The present bounds of Brookfield include only parts of the area prominent in its early history, although third in point of age among the towns of Worcester County. It had a meetinghouse, but not a minister before 1676, after which the settlement was no more for nearly ten years. A new church was not constructed until 1715, and the Rev. Thomas Cheney was invited to become its pastor a year later. He died in 1747, and was followed by Rev. Eli Forbes, Thomas Appleton, and Rev. Joseph Appleton. In 1798 Rev. Thomas Snell was appointed and filled the pulpit for sixty-four years. In 1848 West Brookfield was set off as the First Precinct, the original settled section of Brookfield, and the First Church thereafter was continued in West Brookfield. The Methodist congregation began in a class meeting of 1851. Rev. Father Roubier said the first mass in the village and by 1889 Michael J. Murphy had Gardner, Brookfield and East and West Brookfield as his parish. The Catholic Church in Brookfield, proper, was built by Presbyterians and used by them for a quarter of a century. The West Brookfield church was consecrated in 1889 and the East Brookfield church is of a later date. The Baptists became established in North Brookfield, in 1872, and its Methodist Episcopal Society dates from 1829, and its first church from 1833. Another Methodist Church was built in 1861; the Union Congregational Society was founded in 1853; Christ Memorial Church was dedicated in 1894; and the Catholics built a church in 1867.

Worcester was the fourth of the first towns established in what is now the county, and there were ten others erected before Worcester County was organized in 1731. The ecclesiastical history of the county seat will be summarized later. Continuing with the mention only of the earliest churches in the order of the establishment of the fourteen original towns: *Oxford* owed its rise to French Huguenot refugees and its first church, while of the Congregational type was unique in the annals of early Worcester County. "M. Blondet is their minister," wrote a refugee, in 1687, but religious services were held in the homes of the French settlers. The English resettled Oxford in 1713 with Rev. John James as their first minister. A meetinghouse was put up the following year. *Sutton* had its first church in about 1719, and evidently a "Mr. Macinstree" did the preaching. The church was formally organized in 1720, and John McKenustry ordained as its pastor on November 9, that same year. *Leicester* started a meetinghouse sometime between 1719 and 1722, but it was not completed until 1741; Rev. David Parsons held services in the unfinished building from 1721. *Rutland's* first religious edifice was started in 1719, and Rev. Joseph Willard was called to be the first pastor in 1721, but was murdered by Indians before his installation. Not until 1727 was a church leader secured in the person of Rev. Thomas Frink.

Westboro's town records of 1718 note the plan to build a meetinghouse and to invite Rev. Daniel Elmer to "continue to Be our minister." *Uxbridge,* taken from Mendon in 1727, immediately started a meetinghouse and offered a Mr. Ferry twenty shillings a Sunday to preach for them, an offer which was accepted. The meetinghouse stood on the site of the present First Congregational Church. The first settled minister was Rev. Nathan Webb who from 1731 served for more than four decades. *Southboro,* dating from 1727, erected a church the next year which stood for at least seventy-nine years. Rev. Nathan Stone, installed in 1730, was its pastor for more than half a century. *Shrewsbury's* proprietors built a place of meeting in 1720, on Rocky Pine Plain, in which the first sermon was preached by the Rev. Robert Breck, of Marlborough, on June 15, 1720. The rude church was used for forty-five years; the earliest of the settled pastors was Rev. Job Cushing, who remained at his work from 1723 to 1760. *Lunenburg,* with a church started in 1728 that was without a pulpit and sufficient seats three years later, called its first regular minister on May 15, 1828, when the religious organization was perfected.

The above paragraphs dealing with ecclesiastical "firsts" in the original towns of Worcester County can perform but a slight useful purpose other than the enumeration of the religious organizations which were the foundation of religious life and history of the county. The original towns were depleted of large areas in the making of the great number erected after 1731, and whatever the development of the "later towns" religiously, their annals must start with the divisions mentioned. It requires little imagination to outline the picture of the founding of the pioneer church organizations, the raising of meetinghouses and the installation of ministers, all in accord with charter agreements which required them. It is evident that the edifices were crude affairs and their completion long drawn out. The pastors were often callow youths, of slight education sometimes, but thoroughly orthodox in the ancient Congregational theology and polity. Rum was no unusual feature of the meetinghouse "raising," and it was often used as an inspiration by the preacher and was the means of keeping his listeners warm in the chilly atmosphere of the house. Conditions were such as are to be expected of a religion linked with the town government and taxation, and of pioneers struggling to gain a livelihood under immense difficulties and imminent dangers. And there was logic in the contention which grew up as old Congregationalism began to wane, that if one did not support the first church in the town, then he must support another.

"The Great Awakening," begun in 1734 by Jonathan Edwards and given tremendous impetus by John Wesley's co-worker, Whitefield, stirred the peo-

ple to a renewed battle against sin now that the battle against nature for sustenance was being won. Religious beliefs began to burst their Puritan shells. The infiltration of other faiths weakened Congregationalism, but its greatest schism came from within in the guise of the Unitarianism, although the change came only in a new century. The difficulties growing out of the agitation which led to the Revolutionary War, found many leaders of Puritan Congregationalism accused of Toryism. A number of the Worcester County ministers were dismissed in the 1770's, directly or indirectly, because they were suspected Royalists, as for example Rogers of Leominster, Fuller of Princeton, Morse of Boylston, Mellen of Sterling and the famous Dr. Goss of Bolton. Others held their places, although under suspicion, "by uniting the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove." A stunning blow to Puritan, or Trinitarian, Congregationalism was dealt in 1825 by the secession or succession, of the Unitarians. The increase in immigration and population during the second quarter of the century made uniformity in the Christian religions impossible. One finds in Worcester County history records of an unusually large number of Methodist and Baptist churches founded between 1830 and 1860. The growth of the Episcopal Church was slower, and the Presbyterian polity was so similar to that of Congregationalism as to encourage separate churches in the smaller places. Prior to the Civil War the Roman Catholics established chapels and churches in the Worcester region. The aftermath of the Rebellion was laxity in religious faith, diversities in denominationalism and a brief intensification of sectarian prejudices. It is strange that the section so thoroughly grounded in Puritanism should be, in the last century, so prolific in novel religions, or pseudo-faiths of heterodoxy and agnosticism.

The two decades from 1870 to 1890, more than any other twenty years in the ecclesiastical annals of Worcester County, were marked by a vast expansion of church building, the organization of new religious societies, and the proportionate increase of communicants. Then the pendulum swung the other way. Some of the fine fervor of evangelism had departed. The stirring revivals that swept the cities and villages of the county in the 1880's seemed to have lost effectiveness at the turn of the century. Where church membership had been growing more than fifty per cent. faster than the population, a religious census of 1906 showed that this growth had been slowed down about two-thirds, and in the rural sections of the county was almost at a standstill. Checked, but not defeated, the churches girded themselves for another advance but along different lines. The Protestants caught the modern spirit of systematic organization; machinery was created to meet every need and crisis as it arose. Home and foreign mission work was taken up as never before. Methods of caring for the foreigner, the ignorant and

vicious, the poor and forgotten, were originated and applied—more especially, of course, in the industrial cities such as Worcester, Fitchburg, Gardner and Leominster, the towns of Webster, Dudley and others. Never before were religious bodies more practically interested in humanitarianism, reformatory and educational activities. For all ages and classes in the churches something was found for them to do, and we had the Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, Unions, and the like. Although the affiliations of Sunday schools in the city, county and State, started shortly after the end of the Civil War, their potentialities were not realized, or utilized to so great advantage, as in the first decade of the present century. The advantages of this coöperation reacted upon the churches, and inestimable good was done in the way of creating a better understanding between denominations. An eminent divine remarked that the Protestant churches were "a lot of split P's." But a trend was established toward coöperation and union, although organic union of denominations, or of branches within denominations made little headway. The Federation of Churches appeared on the horizon but that was all.

When the United States became involved in the World War, new and imperative demands were made upon the religious societies of Worcester; there were many and great duties to be performed under conditions most unfavorable. Fortunately the religious bodies of the city and county had both the spirit and the organization to meet all tests; their very practice of looking at life from the missionary and humanitarian point of view was a preparation for altruistic effort and sacrifice. They promptly pledged their hearty and whole-souled loyalty to the President and the authorities of Massachusetts, and agreed to do everything in their power to assist the government in every possible way. And the churches did as they promised in ways that would surprise, or perhaps horrify our forefathers. Religious edifices and equipment were sometimes used for the most utilitarian purposes. The clergy and the church member led in the various "drives" for funds, and as "four-minute speakers," propagandists for the production and conservation of food, securing men for war service, encouraging the forming of home guards. Although the singular reticence of the military authorities regarding the camps in which the soldiers from any given place were stationed made direct service of the men difficult, yet the churches were very successful in keeping in touch with their young men and women in military and naval service. No denomination of size but had some of its ministers serving at home or abroad as chaplains, Young Men's Christian Association workers, or performing some definite religious or welfare work. All this was at a time when the churches were feeling severely the continuous drain upon

their membership of men called into war service. In many places the fewness of pastors, or the absence of ministers, made it almost impossible to continue regular religious services. Many of these churches combined forces without regard to sectarian lines. The federation of forces worked to ultimate good by increasing better acquaintance with the membership and faith of differing denominations, and a mutual understanding. The "Inter-Church movement" which started shortly after the war, was enlightened in its purposes, however much it failed of its objective.

Outstanding changes in the modes of religious activity in the county of the modern period are: New conceptions on the part of Christians as to denominationalism, and the duties of the church to the community and itself; the greater prominence given to the young people's societies and the Sunday school; and a trend toward consolidation of churches and work. Sectarianism still lifts its head, but there is an increasing readiness of all kinds of churches to combine for the better acquaintance and the performing of duties and pleasures. In some towns where there have been struggling churches, amicable federations have reduced the number to one or two, and the influence of Christians has been thereby greatly enlarged. The work for, and with, and by the youth of the churches is one of the encouraging features of Worcester County religious life. Perhaps the future of the church lies in the spirit of devotion, with little recognition of sectarian lines, which characterizes youth. How far the improvement of transportation, the increasing use of the automobile, or even the radio, have affected the rural churches of the county is a matter of perturbed conjecture. It is very easy to go to the larger villages and cities to attend divine worship, and still easier to turn on the radio. It has become increasingly difficult to either secure or pay suitable men to fill the pulpits of the smaller churches. It seems quite likely that in the future, like the present, annual reports from the churches will record fewer edifices and larger ones; fewer congregations but these of larger numbers. Certainly the modern church edifice has greatly changed from its somewhat barren and unheated single-audience room of a century ago to a building with its auditorium well heated; with church parlors, kitchen and Sunday school room adjoining, or sometimes all contained in a modern parish house.

Turning from the general to the particular, the churches of the city of Worcester merit more detailed comment upon the organization of its numerous religious bodies. If excuses for singling out the ecclesiastical annals of the county seat are in order, then let them be: Because it *is* the county seat, by far the largest city, and by the very variety of its peoples and churches most representative of the urban aspects of religion in the county. When the site of the city was known as Quinsigamond, 1674-84, it had too few inhabitants to have a meetinghouse, and was ordered to "celebrate the wor-

ship of God in the best manner they can." It would seem that they have done so ever since. Church attendance was then compulsory, but the members of the "plantation" were thus excused from traveling twenty miles each Sunday to comply with the law. It was still a plantation by 1731 but had a population of nearly five hundred souls. Organized religious services had been held since 1716, and a meetinghouse had been erected on the site of the present city hall, in 1719. Some authorities have it that 1717 is a better date and the place elsewhere in the settlement. The pioneer religious organization, known for many years as the First Congregational Church, and later as the Old South Church, called as its first minister, Rev. Andrew Gardner. This church was, of course, a town institution, maintained by the public purse to which all citizens must contribute, but some of whom refused to. The little hamlet also had its sectarian difficulties, for even as its first meetinghouse was being built, so-called Scotch-Irish Presbyterians settled there even as they did in Leicester, Grafton, Rutland and possibly other towns. These newcomers had their own religious polity which called for a separate church and school. Worcester began its religious career with a persecution of the Scotch-Irish, and the first of a number of racial problems to solve. But of this later.

All the older historians of Worcester have devoted great space in their writings to the churches, each successively with fewer pages, probably because of the technical difficulties of doing justice to the constantly enlarged records of the older organizations and the growing increase in the numbers and kinds of religious societies. The writer here, with permission, further condenses the briefly summarized stories of the churches in the city as published in Crane's *History of Worcester.*

Congregational—The most numerous of the Protestant churches in the city, in the chronological order of their establishment are: The Calvinist Church, now known as Central Church, which had its origin in the Trinitarian-Unitarian differences of a century ago, Calvinists withdrawing from the Old South Church in 1820, and worshipping in Conference Hall, near where the Post Office Building now stands, until 1822, when the County Courthouse became available for their use, whence the Calvinist Church was moved, in October, 1823, into the meetinghouse, erected for it at a cost of $14,000, adjoining the store of Daniel Waldo, on Main Street, north of George Street. The church was built by Daniel Waldo, and Rev. Loammi Ives Hoadley was the first pastor. Union Church, incorporated March 11, 1835, (dedicated on July 6) the brick meetinghouse on Front Street, opposite the Common, its first pastor was Rev. Jonathan S. Woodbridge, installed November 24, 1836. Deacon Ichabod Washburn was the principal founder of this

church, which in 1896 absorbed Salem Street Church, which had been in existence since 1848. Memorial Congregational Church was founded by Ichabod Washburn by a bequest, in 1854. Memorial Church was part of Mr. Washburn's life work, growing out of a Sunday school which he had organized in Pine Meadows soon after coming to Worcester. Plymouth Congregational Church was started by fourteen young men, who were members of the Young Men's Christian Association in the first years of that splendid organization. These young men met in Mechanics Hall on April 15, 1869, and pledged themselves to raise ways and means, which they did, with the result that the first services were held in the same hall on May 9, 1869, Rev. Dr. Webb being the preacher. On May 13, the church was organized as the Sixth Congregational Church, the present name being adopted a month later. Rev. George W. Phillips, in October, 1871, accepted the call as pastor, and the meetinghouse was dedicated on April 19, 1874. Piedmont Congregational Church was the result of missionary effort by members of Plymouth Church, Francis B. Knowles calling a meeting on April 25, 1872, to consider the organization of a church in the rapidly growing southern section of the city. The response was so satisfactory that a site for the new church was chosen on July 1st, and plans at once were made for the erection of a meetinghouse at the foot of the hill upon which Oread Castle stood. This gave the name Piedmont—foot of the hill—to the church and street, although the church was at first known as the Seventh Congregational. The Baptist Church on Main Street was used for the Congregational services until April 12, 1874, when the Piedmont Church was ready for use. The first permanent pastor was Rev. David O. Mears, who was installed July 3, 1877. The first of the Swedish Congregational churches of Worcester had its origin in the Free Church movement begun in Sweden in 1869. The First Swedish Evangelical Congregational Church was organized in 1880 by Swedes living at Quinsigamond, the church being formed in September, and first pastor, Rev. George Wiberg, of Iowa, being called in October. The local body was the second Swedish Congregational Church to be organized in the United States. A meetinghouse was dedicated on January 25, 1885. Pilgrim Congregational Church history dates from 1883. On January 24, 1885, the members first worshipped in its own meetinghouse, a wooden building, which gave way to the permanent structure dedicated on July 1, 1888. Rev. Charles M. Southgate was first pastor. Park Congregational Church began in a Sunday school formed, in 1884, by Lydia A. Giddings. In 1886 a chapel was erected at Elm and Russell streets, and the church was formally organized on February 24, 1887, when Rev. George S. Pelton was installed as pastor. Hope Congregational Church was the culmination of efforts begun as far back as 1856, when Anson Bangs opened a Sunday school in the schoolhouse on Cambridge

Street. In 1875 it was known as the Union Sunday school. In 1882 the present chapel was dedicated. In 1891 a new church was erected, and Rev. Ellsworth W. Phillips was installed as pastor. Lakeview Congregational Church was organized on February 23, 1890, although it had had earlier existence, as a branch of the Church of the Covenant, organized as such on December 22, 1885; and as a Sunday school it had been functioning since 1879. A church building was erected in 1880, and dedicated January 30, 1881. In the first years the congregation was served by Rev. Albert Bryant, superintendent of city missions. Bethany Congregational Church was formed in 1891, Rev. Joseph Walker becoming pastor in the same year. The chapel at No. 1189 Main Street was erected in 1892. The Second Swedish Congregational Church was founded in 1894, when a meetinghouse was erected on Greenwood Street. Rev. John R. Armstrong, first pastor, came in 1895. The Swedish-Finnish Congregational Church was not fully organized until 1916, but for twenty-five prior years it had functioned, meetings being held in homes and halls, and in Union Chapel. A meetinghouse was erected in 1916. The Finnish Congregational Church at No. 10 Linwood Street was founded in 1915. Tatnuck Congregational Church, organized in 1908, was the outcome of many years of Sunday school work by several city churches. In 1914 the church building was erected. Rev. H. E. Lombard, the first regular pastor, was installed in 1911. Hadwen Park Congregational Church was organized in 1916, after a dozen or more years of Sunday school maintenance at Trowbridgeville, the building erected being known as Trowbridgeville Chapel. The Greendale People's Church, or the Greendale Independent Congregational Church was organized at Greendale in 1895, Rev. J. Charles Villers coming as pastor in 1896. The Worcester Congregational Club during the fifty years of its existence has developed a strong organization; at the time it was formed, in 1874, there were only three other like clubs in Massachusetts—the Congregational clubs of Boston, Essex County, and Taunton. The initiative in Worcester was taken by Rev. E. Cutler, D. D., of Union Church.

The First Unitarian Church naturally was associated with the history of the Congregational organizations, for in Worcester as in Boston its early members were of the larger body. It was established as the Second Parish Church of Worcester, in 1785, and was known as the Second Congregational Church. This parish was incorporated on November 13, 1787, as a "poll" parish in distinction from a territorial parish, the first of its kind in Massachusetts. The first meetinghouse, which stood at the northern end of Summer Street was dedicated January 1, 1792, the land being given to the parish by Charles and Samuel Chandler, and the building, a frame structure, being erected by Ignatius Goulding and Elias Blake. A brick meetinghouse was

erected in 1829. Ten years later Dr. Bancroft died; for forty-one years he had been sole pastor, and for a further twelve years was senior pastor, Dr. Alonzo Hill being his junior, and continuing as pastor for a further thirty-one years after the death of Dr. Bancroft.

The First Unitarian Church is the only one of that denomination now in the city, the Church of the Unity, and the South Unitarian Memorial, having both been merged in the pioneer church. The Church of the Unity developed out of a movement begun in June, 1844, by members of the First Unitarian Church. A church site on Elm Street was acquired, and the erection of building soon begun. The church was dedicated April 25, 1846, Rev. Edward Everett Hale being installed as pastor the next day. The Second Unitarian Society of Worcester was organized November 27, 1845, the name becoming Church of the Unity in the next year. The South Unitarian Memorial Church was founded in 1890 to serve Unitarians in the southern part of the city. It was known as the Third Unitarian Church (Congregational Unitarian). The first settled minister was Rev. George W. Kent, who was installed in 1892, and served until 1900.

Baptist—While the Baptist is one of the oldest denominations in New England, second only to the Puritan, it was late in becoming numerically strong. It was held in check by the adverse legislation and popular opposition to its principles. The first Baptists in Worcester are said to have been "brought by constables of neighboring towns to be held in jail for the non-payment of ministerial rates" to the Puritan Church. One James Wilson, of England, came to the village as a freeman in 1795, and his house was the scene of the meetings held by itinerant Baptist preachers thereafter. The Baptist Church, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, held mission services in Worcester in May, 1812, and on December 9, of that same year a congregation of twenty-eight was formally organized of which the Rev. William Bentley was made pastor. The first meetinghouse on Salem Square was dedicated on December 23, 1813. Since that time sixteen other Baptist organizations have been founded in Worcester. Pleasant Street Baptist Church was the outcome of a meeting held on November 23, 1841, twenty-five members of the First Baptist Church attending. On December 28, the Second Baptist Church was formally recognized, with ninety-eight members. Rev. John Jennings was the first pastor, January 1, 1842. The church on Pleasant Street was occupied January 4, 1844, and it was probably at that time that the name of the organization changed to Pleasant Street Baptist Church. Another daughter of the First Baptist Church was born February 26, 1853, and named the Third Baptist Society of Worcester. Services were held in a new chapel for the first time on the first Sunday of 1854. Rev. H. L. Wayland, the first pastor, was

ordained November 1, 1854. The church building was occupied in January, 1856. In 1864 the society adopted the name "Main Street Baptist Church." Dewey Street Baptist Church had its beginnings in a Sunday school organized in August, 1867, in the Mason Street schoolhouse. Francis H. Dewey, Sr., and Joseph Mason gave the site and chapel, the latter being dedicated on February 8, 1872. First pastor was L. M. Sargent, a layman, the main founder of the Sunday school and deemed the founder of the church. From 1873 Rev. D. F. Lamson was pastor for nine years. Park Avenue Church was built in 1886-87, being dedicated January 13, 1887. Lincoln Street Baptist Church, organized April 4, 1881, was an offshoot of the Pleasant Street Society. Rev. Judson J. Miller, first pastor, came in October, 1881. On June 10, 1884, the church on Highland Street, near Main, was dedicated. The First Swedish Baptist Church was organized November 17, 1880, in the home of A. C. Fagerstrom, No. 115 Ward Street, with nine members; Rev. Axel Tjernlund was first pastor. On May 30, 1884, their church at Mulberry Street and Eastern Avenue was dedicated. The present church was dedicated in 1907. Newton Square Baptist Church was organized on April 7, 1881, as the First Free Baptist Church of Worcester. Its brick church on Wellington Street was used in March, 1892. On March 30, 1905, the Baptists took possession of a new frame edifice. In 1911 the church was recognized as a regular Baptist organization, and the name then changed to the "Newton Square Baptist Church of Worcester, Massachusetts." John Street Baptist Church was founded in 1885. The South Baptist Church was organized October 28, 1886, in the Canterbury Street chapel, by former members of Main Street Church, fifty-seven being dismissed for that purpose. Rev. Henry A. Rogers was first pastor. Its first church was demolished in 1896, and a larger edifice took its place. The Adams Square Baptist Church was founded in 1889; Rev. Daniel W. Hoyt was pastor from 1889 to 1897. The French Baptist Missionary Church was organized, or reorganized in 1890, the original body having been formed, it is said, in 1873. Harlem Street Baptist Church (Swedish) was organized in 1896, and Greendale Baptist Church in the next year. The latter was the development of a missionary effort begun, as a Sunday school, in 1884. Rev. Joseph Ellison was pastor in 1893, and Rev. Guy F. Wheeler had charge of the church from 1897 until 1901. The First Swedish-Finnish Baptist Church was founded in 1900, as the First Finnish Church. Rev. Matts Esselbrom was pastor until 1910. The Quinsigamond Baptist Church was organized in 1901, growing out of a mission of the First Baptist Church, organized in 1885 in Quinsigamond village. Rev. Guy F. Wheeler was pastor in 1892, Howard H. Roach having charge of the mission in 1896, Rev. John H. Bourne in 1898; and in 1901, the first year of the church, Rev. C. W. Turner was pastor. Oak Hill Baptist Church was

begun as a French mission of the Pleasant Street Baptist Church in 1893, and later became the Oak Hill branch of the Lincoln Square Baptist Church. It took independent status on November 21, 1916. Rev. Arthur St. James was pastor in 1893, and Frank L. Hopkins in 1916. The First Freewill Baptist Church had its inception in the meeting held at the home of Newell Tyler, September 14, 1880. The church was formally organized April 7, 1881, with thirty members, and was incorporated September 1, 1887. The church was disbanded in 1910. Jamesville Baptist Church began as a mission in 1885, fostered by the Main Street Church. It gained church entity in 1920. First mission pastor was Rev. S. T. Livermore, in 1892. The People's Baptist Mission was organized in 1922. In addition there is the Italian Mission of the Lincoln Square Baptist Church; this was begun in 1911, and Rev. Antonio Sandella became pastor in 1914.

The Baptist City Mission Board, which has been largely instrumental in fostering these missions and developing them into churches, was organized November 6, 1880, in the Main Street Baptist Church. Beacon Street Chapel was the first built by the board; later came the John Street Chapel for colored people. The board has had a part in the erection of eight or more other churches. The Baptist Social Union was founded in 1893; and there is also another organization, the Conference of Baptist Ministers of Worcester.

Methodist—Although Charles Wesley had preached in King's Chapel, Boston, in the autumn of 1736, and the great Whitefield addressed throngs in Massachusetts, four years later, and started one of the great revivals of the time, it was not until after the Revolutionary War that Methodism made any headway in the land of the Puritan. It was an offshoot of the English Church, and such ministers as it had in this country held to their political allegiance and left for Canada or the British Isles. Bishop Asbury was one of the main exceptions, and to him and Bishop Coke the Methodist denomination in New England owes its early growth. Bishop Asbury visited Worcester in 1798, 1805, 1807, 1812, and 1815. Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, of the Church, came for a visit, in 1790. "Rev. John E. Risley preached the first Methodist sermon, in 1823, in the schoolhouse in New Worcester." The first Methodist class in the town was established in 1830 by Rev. Dexter King. On July 8, 1834, the class incorporated as the Methodist Episcopal Religious Society in the town of Worcester. The town had been a place of meeting since 1833, and continued as such until early in 1836, when difficulties over the anti-slavery attitude of the organization's preachers and members, caused the selectmen to refuse them further use of the hall. That same year a church was begun, and dedicated in March, 1837. Rev. James Porter was then the minister, and the church, now known as Trinity Methodist Church, grew rapidly.

Of the daughters and their offspring of the mother church there are: Grace Street Branch of Trinity, was organized in 1845, but under another name, and worshipped on Thomas Street until 1849, when a new edifice on Laurel Street was dedicated, the organization then becoming Laurel Street Methodist Episcopal Church, changing to its present style, Grace Street Branch of Trinity Church, in 1916. Main Street Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1867, with Rev. J. O. Peck as pastor, and building a meetinghouse in 1871 on Walnut Street, the church name then changing to Grace Church. Trowbridge Memorial, which was the Third Methodist Church, founded in 1860, worshipped in Union Hall until 1871, when a meetinghouse at Webster Square was dedicated, the name then becoming Webster Square Church, holding that until 1904, when it became Trowbridge Memorial Church. Bethel Church was founded in 1867; the First Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church, formed in the schoolhouse at Quinsigamond, in 1875, the class being fully organized as a church in 1880, Rev. Albert Ericsson becoming first pastor. The first meetinghouse erected by Swedish Methodists in New England was built at Quinsigamond in 1880. The Second Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by members of the First, April 9, 1885, with Rev. D. S. Sorlin as pastor, a chapel on Thomas Street being purchased from the Church of Christ, and dedicated on September 27, 1885. Park Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1891, with a meetinghouse on Park Avenue, near May Street; Covenant Methodist Episcopal Church, which is a consolidation of several organizations, began in a Sunday school organized October 19, 1884, a meetinghouse being erected on Houghton Street in 1885, the Church of the Covenant being then formed with three branches, Houghton Street, South Worcester, and Lake View, and being received into fellowship in the Worcester Central Conference in 1889. The church was incorporated under its present name in 1889, no other change occurring until 1912, when Coral Street Methodist Episcopal Church was merged with the Church of the Covenant, under the name of the latter, a new meetinghouse being built on Hamilton Street in 1917. (Coral Street Church had its beginning in the Union Hill Circle, a ladies' aid society, in 1871, developing into Union Hill Methodist Episcopal Church in 1873, when a meetinghouse was dedicated, the name being changed to Coral Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876.) The African Methodist Zion Church was organized in 1846; African Methodist Episcopal Bethel Church was founded in 1867. Methodist societies include the Methodist Episcopal City Mission and Church Extension Society, the Methodist Ministers' Meeting of Worcester, and the Epworth League. The last-named society had its beginning in Worcester in organizations formed at Trinity and Grace churches in October, 1889, other Methodist Episcopal churches taking action shortly after.

Protestant Episcopal—It was unfortunate that although the Episcopal form of worship was introduced in the Colonies in the later 1600's, it should have had its inception in a show of force by so unpopular a Crown Governor as Andros. The feud begun then between Puritan and English churches held back the development of the Episcopacy until almost the nineteenth century, and for a third of a century its advance was slow. The first Episcopal Church society formed in Worcester seems to have been the corporation created in 1836 as the "Proprietors of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Worcester." Thomas H. Vaill, Ira M. Barton, and Edward F. Dixie, were named in the act. Mr. Vaill began to preach in December, 1835, but at the end of six months left the town, discouraged. He eventually became Bishop of Kansas. Episcopal services do not seem to have been resumed in Worcester until 1842; on Christmas Day of that year a Protestant Episcopal service was held in Central Church chapel on Thomas Street, Rev. Fernando C. Putnam being in charge. In 1846 an Episcopal parish was established with Rev. George H. Clark as the first settled rector and a church was built on Pearl Street. In 1874 it was destroyed by fire and a new edifice was consecrated by Bishop Paddock on January 4, 1877. Among the other Episcopal churches are the Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the outcome of Dr. Huntington's idea of forming four Episcopal missions in the city. St. Matthew's Church was the first attempted by All Saints' parish. A chapel was erected in the summer of 1871, under the supervision of the Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington. The parish was organized May 5, 1874, and Rev. Henry Mackay, first rector, took charge. St. John's Church was the second to be established, beginning as a Sunday school on March 11, 1883. First church services were held on January 6, 1884, and a church was erected on Lincoln Street in the same year, the Christmas Day services of 1884 being the first held in it. Parish was organized September 18, 1884, with Rev. Edward S. Cross as first rector. In 1884 Mrs. Abbie A. Bigelow gave Dr. Huntington money to hold until the time was opportune to establish St. Mark's. The mission was organized on September 5, 1887, and the first service was held in the South Baptist Church on October 16. In 1888 Rev. Langdon C. Stewardson became the first rector of St. Mark's, and on February 7, 1889, the first service was held in the building erected upon the lot acquired with Mrs. Bigelow's donation and other funds. St. Luke's Church, the fourth and last of the organizations planned by Dr. Huntington, was established in 1908, the church being soon afterwards built. Until 1913 curates from All Saints' Church were in charge, but in that year Rev. Frederick H. Danker became rector. The Episcopal Church Club, a strong organization, was formed in 1889, and for ten years was active. For fifteen years, 1899-1914, it was dormant, but was revived again in 1914 by Alfred T. Howarth, and has since grown rapidly.

Universalist—John Murray, "Father of Universalism," became pastor of the first church of this order, in about 1785, at Boston. He is reputed to have visited Worcester. So far as local records go, Rev. Lucius R. Paige was the first to preach the faith in Worcester (1834), but not until 1841 was a Universalist society formed, of which Rev. Stephen Preston Landers was minister. This congregation organized formally as the First Universalist Church of Worcester, on November 21, 1843, and its meeting place was dedicated on the following day. In 1871 another church edifice was erected during the ministry of Dr. St. John. All Souls' Universalist Church was established in 1884 and a small chapel built and dedicated January 27, 1885. Church organization was completed in June, Rev. M. H. Harris, pastor. The first settled pastor, however, was Rev. Frederick W. Bailey, who was called in 1885. The present church was dedicated November 20, 1891. The ministerial society, the Central Massachusetts Universalist Ministers' Association, was organized at Worcester on January 6, 1903; meetings of ministers are held monthly.

Presbyterian—An almost forgotten page in history is the migration in great numbers in the first half of the eighteenth century, of comparatively large numbers of "Covenanters," Scotch who had settled in the north of Ireland. Driven from their homes because of the Presbyterian faith, they sought refuge from the English Church and the Prelacy in the New World. Many settled in Worcester County, and in the county seat attempted to set up a church of their own in 1718. To quote Aldrich:

"While the building was in the process of erection, a mob of citizens assembled at night and completely demolished the structure. These people (Presbyterians) were otherwise persecuted and annoyed to such an extent that many of them left town and settled in the town of Pelham, in Hampshire County. And thus Worcester, by intolerance and bigotry, drove from her borders many who would have been among the most valuable of her early inhabitants. But the unfair treatment of Presbyterian immigrants was not peculiar to Worcester. Wherever they settled they were subjected to outrage and persecution."

It is to be suspected that the ill-treatment of this sect and people were due mainly to the objection of the citizens to paying taxes for another church when one was costing them too much, and the prejudice against anyone who came from Ireland, no matter how Scotch his ancestry and religion might be, was another great factor in the persecution. Some of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians remained in Worcester, as members of the Congregational Church, and Nutt states that at the end of the Revolution approximately one-half of the population of the town was of this people and faith. It was not, how-

ever, until a century and a half later that the Presbyterians organized a church in Worcester. On February 25, 1886, a number of them met in the Young Men's Christian Association to listen to Rev. Joseph W. Sanderson, missionary of the Presbyterian General Assembly. The result of this meeting was the organization on May 27, 1886, of a church of fifty-seven members, with Rev. J. H. Ralston, minister. Meetings were held in various halls until September 27, 1891, when the former church building of All Souls' Universalist Church was acquired and occupied. In 1901 the meetings were held in the more centrally placed Malta Temple on Main Street. Finally they purchased the building formerly occupied by the Main Street Baptist Church; where the Presbyterians have since worshipped.

The first United Presbyterian Church was organized on January 29, 1895, with Rev. S. B. Haslett, Ph. D., pastor of Wilkinsville, caring for the Worcester organization until they could appoint a minister. Rev. Robert Hughes, of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, came as "supply" in 1895, and was confirmed as pastor in 1896. In 1903 the church property at No. 63 Wellington Street was purchased, and at this time the name of the organization changed to the Westminster United Presbyterian Church, being incorporated as such.

Various Denominations—The Society of Friends was represented almost coeval with the Congregationalists. Although people of the faith lived in Worcester relatively early, it was not until 1846 that they built a meetinghouse. Another was erected on Oxford Street in 1908, through the gifts of D. Wheeler Swift. An Advent Christian Church built its first house of worship in 1866, although represented in Worcester since 1843. The Worcester Seventh Day Advent Church was founded in 1885, and the Scandanavian Seventh Day Adventists organized in 1903. The First Church of Christ (Disciples), was organized on August 5, 1860. A little chapel on Thomas Street was their place of worship. This was enlarged in 1867, and in 1868 the church was incorporated. A new edifice was dedicated on September 12, 1886. The second church of that sect is known as the Highland Street Church of Christ. It began at No. 54 North Ashland Street in 1902, as a mission of First Church. The meetinghouse at the corner of West and Highland streets was occupied in 1905. The Lutheran churches have all come into establishment during the last half-century. The first of that denomination in Worcester was the First Lutheran Church, which was founded in 1881. The other Lutheran organizations, in chronological order of establishment are: The First German Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded in 1888; the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, organized in 1894; the Swedish-Evangelical Church, in 1896; the Swedish-Finnish Lutheran, in 1900; the Greendale Lutheran, in 1914; and the Norwegian Lutheran.

The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Worcester, was founded in 1913. Meetings were held earlier at the Women's Club House, but in 1913 the society entered into possession of its meetinghouse on Main Street near Oberlin Street. The readers in 1913 were Burt L. Knowles and Mrs. Nellie B. Bush. Another church was organized in 1914, holding its meetings in Dean Hall, Women's Club, No. 43 Salisbury Street. And a reading room was opened about the same time at No. 718 Slater Building, removing in 1917 to the Park Building. The First Spiritual Church has functioned since 1879, although it has had no meetinghouse of its own. Worcester's large Armenian population has found religious expression in the Church of Our Saviour, which was established in 1890. The meetinghouse is at No. 63 Laurel Street. The Church of the Martyrs, on Ormond Street, was founded in 1892. Among other religious organizations of Worcester are the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Plymouth Brethren, the First Nazarene Church, Hellenic Orthodox Church (Greek Catholic), St. George's Orthodox Church (Greek Catholic), St. Mary's Albanian Orthodox Church, Spiritual Unity Church, Syrian Antiochan Orthodox Church, Valley Falls Church, Worcester New Thought Center, Christadelphian Society.

Jewish Synagogues—The first Jewish Synagogue established in Worcester was the Sons of Israel, on Providence Street. It was founded in 1877, the first rabbi, M. Meltzner, coming in 1880. Originally, the membership consisted largely of Polish Jews. In 1888 the synagogue at No. 79 Green Street was erected, but in 1896 the Swedish Church on Providence Street was bought and remodelled. The other synagogues are: Sons of Abraham, incorporated in 1886, by former members of the older synagogue, and at first occupying a brick synagogue at No. 10 Plymouth Street, whence they moved in 1913 to No. 23 Coral Street; the Tower of Truth Synagogue, a branch of Sons of Abraham, No. 16 Gold Street; Good Brothers' Synagogue, at No. 6 Pond Street; Shaarai Thorah Synagogue, No. 32 Providence Street; Congregation Chemach Chedach, at No. 10 Plymouth Street; Congregation Ieferris Israel, at No. 42 Harrison Street; and Congregation Agudas Israel Anshe Serard, at No. 66 Harrison Street. The Jewish religious organizations of directly charitable purpose include the Hebrew Children's Friend Society, which was organized in 1908; and the Worcester Lodge, No. 600, of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, which was formed in 1904 and has a strong membership.

The Catholic Church—In the first paragraphs of the chapter attention was called to the interesting development that the once strongholds of Puritanism have become the homes of very strong Catholic congregations.

This revolutionary change was not brought about without difficulties. "At first a chasm seemed to separate the Catholic and Puritan, New England and 'New Ireland.' On the effects of this cleavage, political and social, much of Massachusetts history in the past century turns. Naturally, there has been not a little friction, tension, conflict, legal discrimination, political battles, at times physical violence, and a social estrangement that is even yet not completely obliterated. With such sharply contrasted and contrary social elements, what else could have been expected? Perhaps the remarkable thing is rather that serious struggles have been so rare, and that so much progress towards reconciliation and mutual understanding has been made." (Rev. R. H. Lord, Ph. D.)

Worcester came early into this drama, not, as in most places in Massachusetts, because of Irish Catholic immigrants, but in 1755, when two thousand exiled Acadians landed in Boston, some of whom were sent to settlements in Worcester County, particularly the county seat. Robbed of home and nearly all that they most loved, they were denied even the solaces of religion because, as Hutchinson writes, "the people would upon no terms have consented to the public exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholic priests." The few that were left of the Acadians were returned to their Canadian homes a dozen years later, and there is little evidence of religious worship, of the Catholic order, carried on in Worcester until just a century ago. Of 1834 it is a matter of record that James Fitton visited Worcester on April 4, having been appointed to such service. He is reputed to have been "greeted with blessings of eighty glad people." The period of from 1830 to 1860 has been called "The Age of the Pioneer Priests," in Massachusetts. Father Fitton, one of the most zealous of these priests, organized a parish in Worcester, and on July 7, 1834, laid the first church in the diocese of Springfield, on the site of St. John's Church. "It was erected," say old records, "by the Irish laborers employed on the railroad." Not until May, 1836, did the parish have a resident pastor, when Father Fitton removed there from Hartford, Connecticut, and remained until 1843. He ministered to many towns in the county, including Blackstone, Grafton, Webster, Westboro, Millbury and Northbridge, and later to North Brookfield, Warren, Barre, Southbridge and Northboro. He must also be credited with the founding of Holy Cross College.

The first Catholic church in Worcester was known as Christ's Church, which in 1845 was changed to St. John's. A new edifice was dedicated on June 24, 1845, and "Thus came into satisfactory permanence the first Roman Catholic Church in the Diocese of Springfield." It will be remembered that the potato famine in Ireland of 1847 sent so large a number of the Irish to New England, that Worcester Catholics like those of many other industrial

towns, had great difficulty in attending to the large accessions to their numbers. In 1849 the Worcester church was attending to twelve missions in the county: Fitchburg, Millbury, Webster, Clinton, Barre, Milford, Uxbridge, Southbridge, Templeton, West Boylston, Hopkinton, and Winchendon. The Catholic church expanded widely after the Civil War, possibly because its members were so outstanding in their patriotism and a post-war trend toward liberalism. At any rate for nearly a quarter of a century thereafter religious animosities in Worcester were largely forgotten. The present century has been one of consolidation by churches already organized and the creation of many new parishes.

St. Anne's Church was the second founded in Worcester, under the direction of Father M. W. Gibson of beloved memory, in 1855, on Shrewsbury Street. The building was not dedicated until Christmas Day, 1856, and was used until 1885.

St. Paul's, 1866, was the third parish organized in the city. Father Fitton preached the first sermon of its church on July 4, 1869, when the cornerstone was laid. It was dedicated in 1874 by the Rt. Rev. Bishop O'Reilly.

The first French Catholic Church established in Worcester was Notre Dame des Canadiens. This was founded in 1869, following several unsuccessful attempts to form the French-Canadian Catholics of Worcester into a separate congregation. The French residents succeeded in forming a society, St. Jean Baptiste, in 1853. In 1869 the Notre Dame des Canadiens congregation was formed, and Rev. J. B. Primeau became pastor in the same year. The first Mass was celebrated in Horticultural Hall, September 12, 1869, by him. The first Mass in the old brick church was said on June 1, 1870. In 1902 the edifice in Salem Square was purchased from the First Baptist Society.

The Church of the Immaculate Conception was organized by Rev. Robert Walsh, former curate of St. John's. The cornerstone was laid in June, 1874, by Bishop O'Reilly, and the church was dedicated December 8, 1878. In 1876 the adjoining lot was purchased, and the house upon it became the parochial residence. Father Walsh developed missions also at Holden and Rutland.

The Church of the Sacred Heart was founded in 1880, the parish being taken from St. John's on January 24 of that year, Rev. Timothy Thomas J. Conaty, a curate of St. John's being appointed rector. The church was completed in the spring of 1881, Father Conaty saying Mass in it on Easter Sunday. In March he took also charge of the mission at Stoneville, and held the charge until it was transferred to Oxford parish in 1885.

The Church of the Sacred Heart was dedicated by Bishop O'Reilly on September 21, 1884. Monsignor Thomas J. Conaty, first pastor, was destined

to advance far in the church. He remained in charge of Sacred Heart until 1897, when he became president of the Catholic University in Washington. Eventually he became Bishop of Los Angeles.

St. Peter's Church was organized May 15, 1884, by Rev. D. H. O'Neill. On Christmas Day, 1884, Mass was celebrated in the basement of the church; on June 18, 1893, the church was dedicated by Bishop Beaven. St. Peter's Church stands opposite Clark University.

St. Stephen's Parish is another offspring of St. John's, being taken from that parish in January, 1887. Rev. R. S. J. Burke was appointed its pastor January 27, 1887. The church was dedicated September 4, 1887, by the Vicar General, Very Rev. John J. Power. Father Burke was pastor until 1895, when Rev. Daniel McGillicuddy, a native of Worcester, succeeded him. He died in 1908, and was succeeded by Father Thomas H. McLaughlin.

St. Joseph's Catholic Church was founded in 1892, and is another of the French churches, it being set apart from Notre Dame in March, 1891. The brick church of St. Joseph's was in process of erection in 1892, when Father Graton was appointed. He completed it, and in the next year built a parochial residence. The church was dedicated June 20, 1892. When the parish was set apart from Notre Dame, there were about 1,923 French-Canadians living within its bounds.

The Church of the Holy Name of Jesus is a French church, and also set apart from Notre Dame. In 1893 Rev. J. Ed. Perrault was sent to establish the parish. In 1893 he acquired a church site, and by 1898 the church basement was occupied. Later the structure was completed, and the edifice dedicated.

St. Casimir's Parish, which was organized in 1894 is the Lithuanian church. Rev. Joseph Jakcztys came in that year to work among the Poles and Lithuanians, and said the first Mass to these church people on October 21, 1894, in Sacred Heart Church. In the following spring a little wooden church was raised for them at the head of Ledge Street. A new church was built in 1895, at the corner of Providence Street and Waverly Street. It still serves both Polish and Lithuanian Catholics.

The main Polish church is St. Mary's, which was founded in 1903 or 1904, by Rev. John Moneta. It is situated at No. 15 Richland Street. St. Mary's Parochial School for Polish children was erected in 1915, at a cost of $75,000.

St. Anthony's is a French church. The parish was organized in 1904, the church being erected in Vernon Square.

The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is attended mainly by Italians. The parish was set apart in 1906. Father Gioacchino Maffei was pastor of the church from its establishment to 1913.

NOTRE DAME CHURCH, SOUTHBRIDGE

Photo by R. M. Litchfield

The Church of the Ascension, on Vernon Street, was organized in 1911, the parish being set apart from St. John's. The church was being erected, and on August 11, 1912 was dedicated by Bishop Beaven.

The Church of Our Lady of the Rosary is attended by both English and French Catholics. The parish was organized in 1911, by Rev. Gideon Fontaine, first pastor.

The Church of the Blessed Sacrament dates from 1912.

St. Bernard's Church was founded in 1916, the parish being set apart from that of the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

The Church of Our Lady of the Angels is at the corner of Main and Montague streets. The parish was founded in 1916, with Rev. Michael J. O'Connell as pastor.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Story of Worcester County Transport

(The late Frederick A. Currier of Fitchburg, a painstaking and able student of local history, and a prominent member of the Fitchburg Historical Society, presented to the society in 1894 and 1895 two well prepared papers, the first entitled "Tavern Days and the Old Taverns of Fitchburg," the second "Stage Coach Days and Stage Coach Ways." Both are included in the printed proceedings of the Society. The results of Mr. Currier's research, entertainingly related, have been of great assistance to the author of this history in the preparation of this chapter and several which follow it.)

The history of American inland transportation in regions having no navigable waterways is written in Worcester County. We have had it in all its phases, from the pioneer days, when the traveler went afoot or on horseback; through the period of the postrider, postchaise and stagecoach, and the canal to the sea, and their eclipse which came with the opening of the railroads; one through the era of suburban and interurban trolley lines, and their passing with the universal use of the automobile and motor bus and the consequent building of the present-day network of fine highways; to the creation of great fleets of motor trucks as formidable rivals of the railroads in the hauling of freight; and finally to the day of the airplane as a large scale carrier of passengers and merchandise.

To make the background of our narrative more nearly complete, it is well to tell briefly of the transportation system, or lack of it, in the early days, the country over. It had its real beginning, so far as the inland territory was concerned, with the postrider and the stagecoach. In 1789, a population of four million people was scattered over the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia, a distance of some twelve hundred or thirteen hundred miles, while westward farms and clearings reached out a thousand miles. But distance was then measurable, not in miles but in days or weeks consumed in travel.

In the 1790's, express riders, sparing neither horse nor man, covered the road from Boston to New York in ninety-six hours. Ordinarily a stage made little better than thirty miles a day. Even the forty-four miles between Worcester and Boston required two days. Five days were consumed in

riding from Worcester to New York, and the expense to the traveler was from $25 to $30 including his tavern reckonings. A much longer time was needed by way of Providence or Newport and packet sloop which followed the present steamboat route.

Traveling further to the southward, New York roads were very poor and there were wide rivers to cross, and travel was even slower. The United States mail did the distance from New York to the Potomac in five days, but the stage passenger seldom was lucky enough to cover it in better than ten days. It took three weeks or a month for a wagon-load of tobacco to make the journey from the valley of Virginia to Richmond.

Water communication was used at every opportunity in preference to land. Schooners and sloops plied along the coast and up and down the rivers, carrying passengers and freight, to an extent undreamed of nowadays. Southern Congressmen traveled to New York or Philadelphia by sea. The Hudson Valley had hardly any other means of communication with New York.

The stagecoach was an established institution in Great Britain when Washington was inaugurated as president, for it dated from the days of Queen Elizabeth. But it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that highways and vehicles had been developed into a smooth running transport system. An announcement made in London in 1670 reads:

FLYING MACHINES.

"All who desire to pass from London to Bath, or any other place on the road let them repair to the Bell Savage, on Ludgate Hill in London, and the White Lion in Bath, at both of which places they may be received in a stagecoach every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, which performs the whole journey in three days (if God permits) and sets forth at five in the morning."

A crowd gathered to gaze upon the six intrepid passengers who were about to try for the first time travel at the rate of thirty-five miles a day, where twenty miles had been the limit. Knowing the roads as these travelers did, they probably wondered and bethought themselves of the words "if God permits." As it happened, after narrowly escaping upsetting and being shaken almost out of their senses, even before leaving the outskirts of London, they were held up by the famous highwayman, Claude Duval, who deftly relieved them of their gold and valuables.

In 1678 the six-horse coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow, a distance of forty-four miles, made the round trip in six days. In the days of Charles II, the Flying Coaches were supposed to be the acme of expeditious and luxurious travel. Yet a Prussian clergyman, mounted the outside of a "post

coach" at Leicester, for London, and later described his experience: "I sat nearest the wheel, and the moment that we set off I fancied that I saw certain death await me. . . . . At last, the being continually in fear of my life became insupportable, and as we were going up a hill, and consequently proceeding rather slower than usual, I crept from the top of the coach and got snugly in the basket."

The first coaches to be mounted on springs appeared in 1754. In that year it was considered quick traveling to reach Manchester, one hundred and eighty-seven miles from London, in four and one-half days, and Edinburgh in ten days in summer and twelve days in winter.

But from that time on the British roads were rapidly improved until they were smooth and safe, much higher speeds were maintained, and some degree of luxury was attained. Many families had their private "chariots" and fours, with postillions and gentleman's man and lady's maid in the dickey behind. Somewhat of this was common in parts of America, and to a very limited degree in New England among the rich aristocrats, particularly in the wealthy coast towns. But Worcester County highways were seldom traveled by equipages so magnificent.

In the early days of America, development of transportation facilities proceeded very slowly. They were not greatly needed, except locally, and in our county in contacts with the rest of the Massachusetts Colony. Not until the United States was well established as a Nation did passenger traffic and the movement of goods between the Colonies take on importance. Each lived a self-centered existence, which condition endured during their first years as states of the Union. But once the demand for speedy and safe communication developed, the evolution of the roads and of the public conveyances which traveled over them was, everything considered, a rapid one.

Pioneering Stage Coaching—To go back to the beginning, the narrow Indian trails gradually widened with use by the settlers and became passable for ox-teams, and finally for horse-drawn vehicles, and new roads were cut through the wilderness as towns were established. They were incredibly rough. Today it is difficult to get an adequate idea of them. Perhaps the nearest approach is a woodroad opened for lumbering operations in the winter, with the surface of the ground untouched, and continued in use through the spring while the ground was still soggily wet and horses' hoofs and the wheels of heavy carts cut deep and uneven ruts.

The vehicles which used the early roads matched them in crudeness. Here in Worcester County, excepting over a few highways, notably the Boston Post Road and the Boston-Hartford Turnpike, it was well toward the close of the eighteenth century before travel, except on horseback, was even

passably comfortable. The first vehicles that served as coaches had no springs; their bodies were hung in chains or ropes or leather straps as thoroughbraces. Passengers must have been in misery as the massive, iron-tired wheels were jerked over stones and outcroppings of ledge and half-buried boulders and stumps, and in and out of ruts and holes.

Weather conditions were at times well-nigh intolerable. In the spring and when the summer rains were heavy, and again in the stormy spells of autumn, the roads were deep with mud. Passengers were often called on to put their shoulders to the wheels and help the horses pull the clumsy wagon from a spring hole or bog. They accepted as a matter of course any labor that would help team and driver. On occasion, the vehicle would bog down to the hubs and there would be a tiresome wait until a yoke of oxen could be procured. In the dry periods of summer, hoofs and wheels would stir up clouds of dust, perhaps to add to the discomforts of intense heat, and in the forests biting insects must have added their full share to the irritating circumstances of travel. And when it stormed, it was impossible to keep out the rain.

In winter the roads were often drifted deep with snow. Yet the sledge coaches usually managed to get through; the driver forced his horses to break a way. There were many delays. When it was very cold, the travelers suffered. They had no heat, of course. Ill-fitting side curtains offered small protection against icy winds and penetrating zero air.

There was danger in winter travel through the wilderness. Even in the England of that day, when roads were good and taverns were set at frequent intervals along them, there were tragic happenings. It is recorded that one Christmas eve, when hundreds of coaches filled to the limit with home-bound travelers were on the highroads, a snowstorm with near zero temperature caught many of them out in the open country, where they were soon stalled in impassable drifts. Passengers were badly frost-bitten, and some of those whose seats were atop the coaches were found frozen to death. In the more severe climate of New England, where everything was new and long stretches of virgin forest must be traversed, the hazard was much greater. It was no uncommon occurrence for a coach to overturn, at any season, and some passengers were badly injured, and some were killed.

This dismal picture did not hold true for many years. State and town and individuals united in improving the roads, and the coach builders were not idle. New models appeared, each an improvement upon its predecessor. A better strain of horseflesh was sought after, until magnificent teams were common. Speed of travel increased rapidly. Lighter coaches was hauled by relays of four or six-horse teams traveling at a gallop, where only a few

years before a plodding, labored walk, frequently interrupted as obstacles were overcome, was the best a driver could ask for. For example, it became no infrequent achievement for a coach to make the forty-four miles from Worcester to Boston in three hours and thirty minutes—an average speed, up hill and down, of better than twelve miles an hour.

The Earliest Stage Lines—There were early, but not, as a rule, enduring attempts to establish regular stage lines in Massachusetts. "Boston, as early at 1716, had a carriage for light purposes to go and come from Newport, Rhode Island, once a fortnight, while the ways were passable," says Felt's *History of Salem.* The first stagecoach went out of Boston in 1718, to Bristol Ferry, Rhode Island, whence, no doubt, travelers, after crossing the ferry, were transferred in some vehicle to Newport, where sloop or schooner was boarded for New York. The wagons were covered, but were cumbersome and slow.

Within the large towns, and especially in Boston, private coaches were maintained at a very early date. One such was that of Sir Edmund Andros in 1687, and at a funeral in 1732 there were a number of them. An English traveler, Bennett, who was in Boston in 1740 wrote: "There are several families in Boston that keep a coach, and some few drive with four horses; but for chaises and saddle-horses, considering the bulk of the place, they outdo London. They have some nimble, lively horses for the coach, but not any of that beautiful black breed so common in London. Their saddle-horses all pace naturally, and are generally counted sure-footed; but they are not kept in that fine order as in England. The common draught-horses used in carts about the town are very small and poor, and seldom have their fill of anything but labor. The country carts and wagons are generally drawn by oxen, from two to six according to the distance, or the burden they are laden with."

Benjamin Staver's announcement of the opening of the Boston-Portsmouth stage line in 1761 conveys an excellent idea of traveling conditions as they then existed: "For the encouragement of travel between Portsmouth and Boston, a large stage chair, with two horses, well equipped, will be ready by Monday the 20th inst. (April), to set out from Mr. Stavers', innholder, at the sign of the Earl of Fairfax in this town (Portsmouth) for Boston, to perform once a week; to lodge at Ipswich the same night, from there through Medford to Charlestown Ferry, to tarry at Charlestown until Thursday morning; so returning to this town the next day, to set out again the following morning. It will be contrived to carry four passengers besides the driver. In case only two persons go they may be accommodated to carry things of bulk and value to make the third and fourth passengers. The price will be twelve shillings six pence, sterling, for each passenger from hence to Boston,

and the same rate for conveyance back again, though under no obligation to return in the same week in the same manner. Those who would not be disappointed must enter their names at Stavers' on Saturdays, any time before nine o'clock in the evening, and pay one-half at entrance and remainder at end of journey.

"As gentlemen and ladies are often at a loss for good accommodations, for traveling from hence, and can't return in less than three weeks or a month, it is hoped that this undertaking will meet with suitable encouragement, as they will be wholly freed from the care and charge of keeping chairs and horses, or returning them before they have finished their business."

Here is another of the quaint announcements of this early stagecoach period, of date of March 8, 1759: "Philadelphia Stage Wagon and New York Stage Boat perform their stages twice a week. John Butler, with his wagon, sets out on Mondays from his house, at the sign of the 'Death of the Fox,' in Strawberry Alley, and drives the same day to Trenton Ferry, where Francis Holman meets him, and the passengers and goods being shifted into the wagon of Isaac Fitzrandolph, he takes them to the 'New Blazing Star,' to Jacob Fitzrandolph's, the same day, where Rubin Fitzrandolph, with a boat well suited, will receive them, and take them to New York that night. John Butler, returning to Philadelphia on Tuesday with the passengers and goods delivered to him by Francis Holman, will again set out for Trenton Ferry on Thursday, and Francis Holman, etc., will carry his passengers and goods with the same expedition as above to New York."

It must have taken a sharp-witted traveler, or one intimately acquainted with the region, to have unraveled this intricate plot until he actually traveled over the route.

As the years passed by, other routes were laid out, highways improved, and faster time was made. In 1776 we read that "Any Gentlemen and ladies that want to go to Philadelphia (from New York) can go in the stage and be home in five days, and be two nights and one day in Philadelphia, to do business or to see the market days."

In the published account of the travels of John Melish, a Scotchman, who made a tour of the United States in 1795, we find an account of his journey from Boston to New York: "Having taken my leave of a number of kind friends in Boston I engaged passage by the mail coach to New York, and was called to take my place at two o'clock in the morning. It is the practice here for the driver to call on the passengers before setting out, and it is attended by a considerable degree of convenience to them, particularly when they set out early in the morning.

"The mail stages here are altogether different in construction from the mail coaches of Britain. They are long machines, hung on leather braces,

with three seats across, of a sufficient length to accommodate three persons each, who all sit with their faces towards the horses. The driver sits under cover, without any division between him and the passengers, and there is room for a person to sit on each side of him. The driver, by the post office regulations, must be a white man, and he has charge of the mail, which is placed in a box below his seat; there is no guard. The passengers' luggage is placed below the seats, or tied on behind the stage. They put nothing on the top and they take no outside passengers.

"The stages are slightly built, and the roof suspended on pillars, with a curtain to be let down or folded up at pleasure. The conveyance was easy and in summer very agreeable, but it must be excessively cold in winter. I took my place on the fore seat with the driver. It surprised me to observe how well informed this class of people are in America. In my journey through the New England states, I was highly gratified by the prompt and accurate answers which they made to my questions; and I resolved to follow the same plan of obtaining information throughout my tour."

Describing a journey from Boston to New York over the post road, late in the 1700's, President Quincy of Harvard College wrote: "The carriages were old and the shackling and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried us eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting place for the night if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and after a frugal supper went to bed, with a notice that we should be called at three next morning, which generally proved to be half-past two, and, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready, by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way over bad roads, sometimes getting out to help the coachman lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut, and arrived in New York after a week's hard traveling, wondering at the ease as well as the expedition with which our journey was effected."

The traveler Weld, in 1795, wrote that the bridges were so poor that the driver always had to stop and arrange loose planks ere he dared to cross, and that "the driver had to call to the passengers in the stage to lean out of the carriage first on one side then on the other, to prevent it from oversetting in the deep ruts in which the roads abound. 'Now, gentlemen, to the right,' upon which the passengers all stretched their bodies half way out of the carriage to balance on that side, 'Now, gentlemen, to the left,' and so on."

Worcester County's First Stage Line—The first stage line to serve Worcester County was that established by J. & N. Brown, to cover the route from Boston to New York, over the Post Road through Worcester. The first trip was made June 24, 1772, and the intention was to run a stage once a fortnight. In the *Boston Evening Post* of July 6, patronage was solicited

and it was promised "that gentlemen and ladies who choose to encourage this new, useful and expensive undertaking may depend upon good usage, and that the coach will always put up at houses on the road where the best entertainment is provided." Notice was given that the coach would start on its next trip July 13 and arrive at New York on the 25th, making thirteen days from one city to the other. But the experiment was not successful, and in 1773 no record is found of the continuance of the line.

The next attempt was made, tentatively, in 1782, when an advertisement appeared in the Massachusetts *Spy* stating: "A gentleman from Boston, having a genteel coach and a span of horses would be willing to be concerned with trusty persons, capable of driving a stage between Worcester and Boston." But nothing came of the suggestion.

In the meanwhile, stage lines were being established along the coast. Mills and Hicks' *British and American Register,* published in Boston for the year 1774 tells us: "Between Boston and Providence, three stagecoaches pass and repass twice a week. Between Boston and Portsmouth a chaise passes and repasses three times a week."

Boston to New York Via Worcester—Levi Pease of Shrewsbury was the real pioneer of the stagecoach lines of Worcester County, for he was the original projector, for some time the sole proprietor, and long a principal owner of the stages which ran regularly between Boston and New York, traversing the county on the route. He was well and favorably known when he entered upon the undertaking; his record in the Revolutionary Army was a long and honorable one. He was unassisted in his new enterprise, nor did he receive even encouragement from his friends. His plan was considered visionary and ruinous, and "the most judicious minds regarded his effort as at least a century in advance of the public wants." One substantial citizen of Boston said to him: "The time will come when a stage to Hartford will pay, but not in your day." But he commenced business October 20, 1783, with two substantial wagons, one leaving Boston from the Sign of the Lamb on Washington Street (where the Adams House stood for many years) every Monday morning at six o'clock, stopping over night at Martin's in Northboro, passing through Worcester on Tuesday and reaching Rice's in Brookfield that night, and on to Somers, Connecticut, Wednesday, and to Hartford, Thursday. The other wagon, leaving Hartford also on Monday, reached Boston in the same four days. The fare was four-pence a mile.

From Hartford a two-horse carriage made the entire trip without changing horses to New Haven, occupying the whole day, and there passengers transferred to sloops which plied between that port and New York, the time of the voyage depending upon wind and weather. Isaiah Thomas remarked

in the *Spy*: "Should these carriages be encouraged, it will be of great advantage to the public, as persons who have occasion to travel between, or to and from either of these places, may be accommodated on very reasonable terms, and will not have the trouble and expense of furnishing themselves with horses." Pease and Reuben Sikes, who became associated with him, were men of enterprise, and they won the patronage of the traveling public by good service rendered. They personally served as drivers and conductors. They improved the accommodations. Their stages ran in fair weather and foul, in gale of wind and blizzard of snow, with passengers and without passengers, punctual as may be. Within two years their stage-line was established as a substantial going business.

Captain Pease persuaded the townships through which his stages ran to repair and improve the roads, and procured better horses and more comfortable wagons. The extent of his operations may be gleaned from his advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy and Worcester Gazette* of January 5, 1786:

"Stages from Portsmouth in New Hampshire, to Savannah in Georgia.

"There is now a line of stages established from New Hampshire to Georgia, which go and return regularly, and carry the several Mails, by order and permission of Congress.

"The stages from Boston to Hartford in Connecticut, set out, during the winter season, from the house of Levi Pease, at the Sign of the New York State, opposite the Mall, in Boston (on the site of the present St. Paul Cathedral) every Monday and Thursday morning, precisely at five o'clock, go as far as Worcester on the evenings of those days, and on the days following proceed to Palmer, and on the third day reach Hartford; the first stage reaches the city of New York on Saturday evening, and the other on the Wednesday evening following.

"The stages from New York for Boston, set out on the same days, and reach Hartford at the same time as the Boston stages.

"The stages from Boston exchange passengers with the stages from Hartford at Spencer, and the Hartford stages exchange with those from New York at Hartford. Passengers are again exchanged at Stratford Ferry, and not again until their arrival at New York.

"By the present regulation of the stages, it is certainly the most convenient and expeditious way of traveling that can possibly be had in America, and in order to make it the cheapest, the proprietors of the stages have lowered their price from four pence to three pence a mile, with liberty to passengers to carry fourteen pounds baggage.

"In the summer season the stages are to run with the mail three times in a week instead of twice in the winter, by which means those who take passage

from Boston in the stage which sets off Monday morning, may arrive at New York on the Thursday evening following, and all the mails during that season are to be but four days going to New York, and so from New York to Boston.

"Those who intend taking passage on the stages must leave their names and baggage the evening preceding the morning that the stages set off, at the several places where the stages put up, and pay-one-half of their passage to the place where the first exchange of passengers is made, if bound so far, and if not, one-half of the passage so far as they are bound.

"N. B. Way passengers will be accommodated when the stages are not full, at the same rate, *viz.* three pense only per mile.

"Said Pease keeps good lodging, &c. for gentlemen travellers, and stabling for horses."

Captain Pease was granted the first United States Government contract for carrying the mails, and the first mail of this new service passed through Worcester, January 7, 1786. The captain still drove the stage, and when a hard snowstorm stalled the mail-coach, he donned his snowshoes and shouldered the mailbag and carried it through to Worcester or Boston town. It was he who conceived the idea of the Boston and Worcester Turnpike, and obtained the first charter in Massachusetts for a highway of this character, built with private capital and supported by tolls. His contemporaries conferred upon him the title of the "Father of the Turnpike."

In 1788 Pease announced that "after great expense and fatigue," he had completed a stage line from Boston to New York, and that the carriages which had been both heavy and uneasy, had been hung on springs and would not tire their passengers more than a private coach. From May to November three trips a week, and from November to May two trips a week were made.

In 1800 we find a line of stages making three trips each week between Worcester and Boston, taking the entire day for the journey of forty-four miles.

In 1802 a Boston newspaper announced, "Boston and New York Mail Stage starts from King's Inn, Market Square every day (Sundays excepted) at 10 a. m., arriving at Worcester the same evening at eight. Leaving Worcester at three o'clock next morning, arrive at Hartford at eight p. m. Leave Hartford at three o'clock next morning, arrive at Stamford at eight p. m. Leave Stamford at three o'clock next morning, reaching New York at noon, same day."

To rise from bed in time to take a 3 o'clock stage, three mornings in succession, must have been wearing to the hardiest soul. It reminds one of the

plaint published in the time of Charles II, and the "Flying Coaches" which were running between London and near-by important towns. It was vehemently argued that this mode of travel "would be fatal to the breed of horses and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames which had long been the great nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from London up to Windsor and down to Gravesend; that the saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns at which mounted travelers had been in the habit of stopping would be deserted; that the new carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach reached the inn so late it was impossible to get supper, and started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast." No complaint comes down to us that the American stage passenger was not well looked after along the way in regard to the inner man. But when evening fell, after a day of rough traveling which opened in the middle of the preceding night, there must have been a hurried ascent to the chambers and their feather beds.

The following advertisement of the well-known "Fall River Line," from the Boston Patriot of August 22, 1809, gives a good idea of the means of communication enjoyed at that time: "Truth—To the Public. The best way from Boston to New York, and from New York to Boston, is by the way of Newport, that remarkably healthy and delightful place, so pleasant and agreeable to travelers, (Norwich way to the contrary, notwithstanding). The proprietors of the Commercial Line of stages from Boston to Newport are desirous of making the traveling and conveyance as easy and as expeditious as possible to all those doing business, as well as to those that travel for pleasure; they are determined to spare no pains in accomplishing this object.

"With a leading breeze, the packets are generally from fifteen to twenty-two hours from New York to Newport, and stages are from ten to eleven hours going to Boston. Frequently gentlemen leave New York in the morning and arrive at Boston the next day, at night. The roads are good and have excellent accommodations; the stages and horses are as good as any in America.

"The packets belonging to Newport, and kept at New York and Newport, are thought to be the best in the known world, and are so acknowledged. They are fast sailers, furnished with elegant accommodations, and with every convenience that can be wanted.

"The proprietors of the Commercial Line of stages have established wagons to go through to Boston and Newport twice a week; they leave Boston Tuesday and Friday, and arrive at Newport Monday and Thursday; leave Newport and arrive at Boston same time."

In 1802 the Albany mail stage went forth from the White Horse Tavern at Boston each Monday and Thursday morning at six o'clock, and passed through Worcester, Brookfield and Northampton, arriving in Albany on Thursday and Monday at noon—seventy-two hours for a journey of approximately one hundred and seventy miles. The line was patronized, as a rule, only by persons to whom it was necessary or profitable to reach one or the other terminal town, for the road for most of the distance west of Northampton was of the roughest and was through an inhospitable wilderness, where infrequent taverns offered the traveler only back woods fare and accommodations. In winter weather, this three days journey was one of real suffering. But between Boston and Northampton the roads had been greatly improved, and between Worcester and Boston the Western Post Road, as it was then called, was regarded as one of the best on the continent. The route from Boston was through Watertown, Waltham, Weston, Sudbury, Marlboro, Northboro, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Leicester, Spencer, Brookfield, and Palmer—the same exactly as it is today on the Post Road.

With the opening of the new century stage lines were established in all directions over Worcester County. Coaches were seen on every road. In 1825 Worcester had become a great stage line center. There were daily stages to Boston, Hartford and New York. Five lines operated three stages each week to and from Boston, and one line each to Providence, to Northampton through Hardwick, to Northampton through Brookfield; to Keene, to Springfield, to East Chelmsford, to Southbridge and to Dudley. Another line to Providence made two trips a week, and there were weekly lines to Athol, Richmond, New Hampshire, and Ashburnham. In addition postriders carried mails twice a week to Pomfret, Connecticut, and weekly to Thompson, Connecticut. Other postriders without mail traveled between Worcester and Charlton, Oxford and Concord.

By 1836 stagecoach systems had increased still further. There were seven mail stages weekly each way between Worcester and Boston, beside three accommodation stages and the three of the "Springfield mail." For Hartford there were seven "southern mail" stages, while the Tremont, Citizens' and Telegraph lines ran every week day. Likewise on each week day were stages for Providence, Lowell, Norwich, Springfield, Northampton, Amherst, Keene, Brattleboro, Vermont, and Greenfield, and three a week to North Brookfield and Barre, while coaches made two trips daily between Worcester and Millbury and Leicester.

Operating at high speed, often with competition between rival lines, one may imagine the activities of Worcester Main Street. Taverns did a rushing business. Their stables and those of the stage lines housed hundreds of

horses. The relays were stabled at convenient intervals along the highways, almost universally in tavern barns. It was the day of the horse, in fact the day of the fine horse, for most of the teams were of the highest quality.

In 1831 it was estimated 22,300 passengers rode between Boston and Worcester, where the shortest time was four hours, and the lowest fare $2, and 30,000 between Worcester and Hartford. The stage books for the years ending April 1, 1835, showed receipts for the Worcester-Springfield line as $8,699; of the Worcester-Northampton line as $13,086; and of the Northampton line by way of Amherst $3,131, a total of $24,915.

The North County Stage Lines—The early stage lines of the northern county made Leominster their principal stopping place, largely because of its geographical location. Fitchburg was then a town of minor importance. But not many years elapsed before its rapid growth made it the principal place in all the northern region, and as such it became a stagecoach center of much importance.

The father of transportation between Boston and Fitchburg was Samuel Farrar of Concord, the first regular postrider, expressman, newspaper and letter carrier. We find his advertisement in the *Massachusetts Gazette* and the *Boston Post-boy and Advertiser* of May 27, 1771:

"Samuel Farrar, rider from Boston to Fitchburg, passes through the following towns, and may be spoke with at the following places, *viz.*: At the Widow Frothingham's in Charlestown, Cambridge; Newell's in Menotomy, Buckman's in Lexington, Taylor's in Concord, White's in Acton, Whiting's in Littleton, Pierce's in Groton, Sartell's in Shirley, Stearns' in Lunenburg, Fuller's in Leominster, and Cowden's at Fitchburg, at any of which places gentlemen or others who will please to favor him with their commands shall have it gratefully acknowledged by their humble servant. S. Farrar." The persons mentioned were landlords of taverns.

Wilder's *History of Leominster* says: "The first stagecoach from Leominster to Boston was established by Jotham Johnson in 1790." He continued in the business for several years, running a clumsy, two-horse, covered vehicle, hung on chains for thoroughbraces, making one trip a week. One summer a few years later Johnson started a weekly stage between Boston and Charlestown, New Hampshire, leaving Boston at an early hour Wednesday, stopping over night at Leominster, reaching Keene Thursday evening and Charlestown on Friday. Returning he arrived in Leominster Saturday night and left for Boston Monday. The coaches caused much excitement in the towns along the way, but the roads were miserably poor and patronage small, and the line was soon abandoned.

Thomas' Almanac for 1801 says: "Leominster and Lancaster stage leaves Boston Wednesday and Saturday at sunrise, arriving at Leominster at 3 o'clock, and returning to Boston on Monday and Thursday, arriving there at 5 p. m." The *Independent Chronicle* of April 21, 1803, says: "Leominster and Greenfield Mail Stage leaves Leominster on Thursdays at 6 a. m., arrives at Greenfield at seven p. m., and returns Saturday at five a. m., arriving at Leominster at 7 p. m., *via* Fitchburg, Westminster, Templeton, Gerry (Phillipston), Athol, New Salem, Wendell, Montague and Greenfield." The *Boston Patriot* of the same date gives a stage line from Boston to Leominster *via* Littleton to Concord once a week, and *via* Westford once a week. In 1807 we find the Lunenburg stage leaving Boston Thursdays at 5 a. m., arriving at Lunenburg at 5 p. m. and returning Tuesdays at 6 a. m., and arriving at Boston at 6 p. m.

A notice in the *Independent Chronicle* of May 1, 1809, shows how the North County stage service was extending, by giving notice that "the Boston and Brattleboro stage leaves Boston Thursdays and Saturdays at 5 a. m., arrives at Westminster at eight p. m., and Brattleboro the next day; returning, leaves Brattleboro Tuesday and Saturday at four A. M., arrives at Westminster at eight P. M., and Boston at 8 p. m. on Wednesday and Monday. The route was through West Cambridge, Lexington, Concord, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Leominster, Fitchburg, Westminster, Templeton, Phillipston, Athol, Orange, Warwick, Winchester, Hinsdale, N. H., a distance of ninety-six miles.

The Boston, Lancaster and Fitchburg stage left Boston Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings, and Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings at five A. M. The fare was Boston to Lancaster $1.50, Boston to Fitchburg $2.12½.

In 1811 the Concord, Harvard and Winchendon stage commenced running through Concord over the old "Union Turnpike," the ancient Wetherbee tavern in Harvard being the half way house from Concord, where horses were changed. The route beyond was through Shirley, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Ashburnham, arriving at Winchendon the same evening.

Josiah Lane and from 1820 Charles Stearns of Leominster ran a stage once a week between Worcester and Fitchburg and on to Ashburnham, the chief freight of the small covered vehicle being the weekly newspapers. The *Worcester Spy* of April 12, 1820, contains the card of Michar R. Ball, a saddler by trade and a man of enterprise, announcing a new line "From Leominster to Worcester through Shirley Village, Harvard, Bolton, Berlin, Northboro and Shrewsbury." Later Ball was an owner of the Worcester-Keene stage line.

In 1825 we find the stage fare from Boston to Harvard $1.50, to Lunenburg $1.75, to Fitchburg $2 and to Winchendon $2.75, over a line which passed through Lexington, Boxboro, Sterling, Lunenburg and Ashburnham.

In 1829 Badger and Porter's *Stage Register* has a paragraph which shows how transportation had extended northward and westward from the North County: "Mail stage leaves Boston for Fitchburg Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at two a. m. (*via* Cambridge, Waltham, Lancaster and Leominster) and from Fitchburg to Athol where the line divides, one going to Brattleboro and one to Greenfield, both to Albany, arriving in Albany on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings (the stages from Albany reaching Boston at the same time), also a stage for Fitchburg, Keene and Rutland, Vermont, leaving Boston Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at four A. M. Also mail stages, leaving Boston for Fitchburg through to Bennington, Vermont, to Albany, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at two A. M.

In the Fitchburg *Directory* of 1835 is given the stagecoach schedule of that day as follows: "Boston, Fitchburg and Keene Mail stage, leaving Boston every day, Saturdays excepted, at two A. M., arrives at Fitchburg at half-past ten A. M., and Keene at seven P. M.; leaves Keene every day, Sunday excepted, at four A. M., arrives at Fitchburg at half-past eleven A. M., and Boston at seven P. M. Fare, Boston to Fitchburg, one dollar and fifty cents; Fitchburg to Keene, one dollar and fifty cents.

"Boston, Lancaster and Fitchburg, accommodation, arrives from Boston Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at four P. M.; leaves Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at seven A. M.; arrives at Boston at two P. M.; fare, Fitchburg to Boston, two dollars.

"Fitchburg and Worcester Mail stage (intersecting with the Keene and Lowell stages), leaves Worcester Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at seven A. M., and arrives at Fitchburg at half-past ten A. M.; leaves Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday at half-past eleven A. M.; arrives at Worcester at four P. M.; fare, one dollar and twenty-five cents.

"Fitchburg, Groton and Lowell Mail stages, leave Lowell Monday, Wednesday and Friday at seven A. M.; leave Fitchburg the following days at half-past eleven A. M.; arrive at Lowell at four P. M.; fare, one dollar and fifty cents.

"Lowell and Springfield Mail stages, leave Lowell Monday, Wednesday and Friday at three A. M.; arrive at Fitchburg at eight A. M., Springfield at seven P. M.; leave Springfield the following days at two A. M.; arrive at Fitchburg at two P. M., Lowell at eight P. M.; fare to Lowell, one dollar and fifty cents; to Springfield, three dollars.

"Ashburnham and Worcester Post, leaves Fitchburg every Tuesday at nine A. M., and arrive from Worcester the following day at three P. M."

In 1834 we note the "Boston and Albany line of stages, *via* Fitchburg, through in two days," which in a few words tells the story of roads once almost impassable improved into smooth-going thoroughfares.

Before the Fitchburg Railroad was built, Fitchburg and other north county towns made use of the Boston & Lowell Railroad. The following advertisement tells how this service operated:

"Fitchburg, Lowell and Boston Railroad Line.—Through in five and a half hours and no mistakes. Leave Fitchburg Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at one P. M., through Lunenburg, Groton, Westford, North Chelmsford to Lowell, in season for the five o'clock train of cars for Boston, Andover and Haverhill; arrive at Boston the same evening at half-past six o'clock; returning leave Boston Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays at seven A. M., and arrive at Fitchburg at one P. M.

"At Fitchburg the stages intersect with stages for Ashburnham, Winchendon, Brattleboro and Albany: also for Leominster, Sterling, West Boylston and Worcester. Passengers by this route will find fine horses and coaches, and careful and obliging drivers, with reasonable fare; so the travelling public will find it for their ease and comfort to give the proprietors a liberal share of their patronage."

In 1846 the following stages left Fitchburg, the year of the opening of the Fitchburg Railroad:

Keene, *via* Ashburnham, Winchendon, Fitzwilliam and Troy, at ten A. M.

Keene, *via* Ashby, Rindge, Fitzwilliam and Troy, at ten A. M.

Keene, *via* Ashby, New Ipswich, Jaffrey and Marlboro, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at ten A. M.

Lowell and Nashua, *via* Lunenburg and Groton, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at one P. M.; Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at four P. M.

Athol, *via* Westminster, Gardner, Templeton and Phillipston, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, four P. M.

Winchendon, *via* Ashburnham, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at four P. M.

Peterboro, N. H., Monday, Wednesday and Friday at ten A. M.

Worcester, *via* Leominster, Sterling and West Boylston, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at four P. M., Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at one P. M.

Brattleboro, *via* Westminster, Gardner, Templeton, Phillipston, Gardner, North Orange, Warwick, Winchester, Hinsdale, at ten A. M.

Greenfield, *via* Westminster, South Gardner, Templeton, Phillipston, South Orange, Ervingsville, Erving and Montague at ten A. M.

Jaffrey, N. H., *via* Ashburnham and Rindge, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at four P. M.

Cost of travel in the period about 1830 compared very favorably with that of the present day, as far as actual transportation was concerned. In 1829 the Albany coach *via* Greenfield and Troy carried a passenger to Albany, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles for six dollars. The Mail Line, *via* Northampton, did the one hundred and sixty-nine miles in two days, with a fare to Albany of eight dollars and seventy-five cents, the higher cost being for the quicker time. The fare to Northampton was four dollars and fifty cents. But the fare was only a part of the cost of a long journey. Tavern bills had to be met, for food and lodging.

In the *Boston Transcript* of September, 1830, is the advertisement of the "New York and Boston Steam Packet Line, only forty miles land carriage; from Providence to New York daily (Sundays excepted); fare five dollars. Stages leave Boston daily at five and reach the packet before the hour of starting, four P. M., dining on board; meals extra; dinner, fifty cents; breakfast and tea, thirty-eight cents." But the next month the land carriage was rectified to forty-three miles, and the fare raised to six dollars. The fare from Worcester to Boston was two dollars.

Stage-Coaching in the South County—The main highway through the South County was the Hartford Turnpike, which was a direct route from Boston to Hartford and on to New Haven. In the days of its coaching grandeur it was probably better known as the Middle Road. Travel between Boston and Connecticut and New York was over three routes. The Southern or Lower Road passed through Providence, and bore the colorful title of the King's Highway. The Northern or Upper Road was the Boston Post Road through Worcester. The King's Highway was the oldest, dating from 1727, the Upper Road was in use in 1755, and the Middle Road in 1764.

The Boston and Hartford Turnpike cut across the southeastern corner of Worcester County, entering it from Bristol County at Mendon, passing through the little hamlet of "Rice City" in Uxbridge, and on through Douglas into Connecticut. It followed exactly the Indian trail between middle Connecticut and the Massachusetts Bay settlement. Both Mendon and Uxbridge were important stopping points for the coach lines.

In 1889 a full week was required for the stagecoach journey from Boston to New York over this route, as, in fact, it did over either the Upper or Lower Road. In 1804 a new line of stages started running, and ten years later another, known as the Enterprise, which was advertised to make the full journey in two days, which meant the highest speed of travel, with relays of fine horses.

The rivalry was intense between the coaches of the Middle Road and the King's Highway. The late William E. Hayward of Uxbridge recalled the

story of a wager of $500 made between two lines to test out the relative excellence of the two highways, and their coaches, horseflesh and drivers. Both started at Boston on the same exact second, with the same number of passengers. Every detail was worked out in advance, with fresh relays of horses at frequent intervals. All New England awaited the result. According to Mr. Hayward's story, so fast was the speed of the running teams that a continuous shower of pebbles fell like heavy hail on the coach roof. As we are writing of Worcester County we will accept the claim that the Middle Road coach won the match with an ample margin.

In the early days there was no mail between Worcester and Providence and serving the important mill villages along the Blackstone River. But finally Abner Cooper of Northbridge undertook the service. He rode to Providence one day, returned to Northbridge the next, and made the distance to Worcester and back home on the third day. In the beginning he was a postrider only, but later acquired a gig, and as he grew more prosperous drove a two-horse vehicle and carried passengers, who broke the forty-four miles journey by stopping at his house. Tradition has it that he always carried oats for his horses, and when it became feeding time stopped his team beneath some inviting tree by the wayside, and his passengers waited while the horses ate. It is not told what Cooper and the passengers did about their own meals. Perhaps theirs, also, were in the wagon.

The first stage route between Worcester and Providence was established in 1812 by one Henry Richardson, who made the trip between the two towns in a single day. Later a competing line was started. Then came the Blackstone Canal, which took away a little business, and the Providence & Worcester Railroad which took the rest, and the coaches abandoned the field.

One of the last stage lines to be operated in the county was the Tilden Stage and Express, which ran between Uxbridge and Milford, through Mendon, from 1848 to 1866. It was an important auxiliary for the convenience of many persons in travel between their home towns and Boston, by making connections with the Boston & Albany Railroad through its Milford Branch.

Mrs. Anna Cummings Sharpe, in a paper read before the Deborah Wheelock Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Uxbridge, speaks interestingly of this stage line, and particularly of its driver for many years, James D. Perry. He was noted for his love of horses, and had the keenest pride for three well-cared-for steeds which he drove daily. Old coaching records mention him as "Mr. James D. Perry, who drove a coach-and-four," which was considered a high mark of respect, for though he drove but three, everyone knew he would have handled a team of four or six as easily.

He was considered the best whip in the South County. "There was no noise, no cracking of the whip, no horn, but with the greatest ease and confidence in their driver the three beautifully groomed creatures flew over the

road between Uxbridge and Milford. The leader was a most beautiful white horse," Mrs. Sharpe tells us.

She recalls Mr. Hayward's tale of Driver Perry's favorite jest. The horses were walkingly leisurely through the woods, the passengers inside the coach were chatting lazily, exchanging the news of the day, while those on top gazed dreamily over the passing landscape. Perry's quiet tap on the lantern at the side of the coach, and the horses broke into a mad gallop, to the consternation and fright of those who never had been caught before.

In Mendon in those days, the coach was the only communication with the outside world. At stage time the store and post office were always crowded with men, women and children, demanding the news, and inspecting the passengers. In the days of the Civil War these country people were hungry for the latest word of battle, and thankful to the passenger who would read to them the tidings from his newspaper.

When Travel Became Commonplace—The Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society contains several incidents of stage coaching in which he participated in about the year 1830. Here is one of them:

"January 29, 1831. Boston. I take the mail stage at 10 in the evening, the play being just through, and go to Worcester. It snows very fast. The stage turns over at Newtown and we are all tipt into the snow—nobody hurt. There were 10 inside. I came top of them all and was no way injured. I must be thankful for such mercies. We reach Worcester at 5. When I went down Sunday we were only four hours in going from Worcester, and I was told that the day previous they went in three hours and thirty minutes. (Better than 12½ miles an hour, which indicates that the relays of horses must have traveled practically the entire distance at a full running gallop.)

The rapid progress of transportation in the county is illustrated by the following account of Mr. Baldwin's trip to New York in September, 1833, in company with his friend Henry K. Newcomb; "Sunday, September 23. We left at 6 o'clock in the morning in the mail stage. There are three daily stages from this place (Worcester) to Hartford—three back and forth. We went on the turnpike by way of Sturbridge, Stafford Springs, Tolland and so on. We reached Hartford about 2 o'clock in the afternoon without any mishap.

"September 24. Monday. At seven in the morning we went on board the new steamboat called the 'New England' and passed down the river for the city of New York. The day was very pleasant, and I sat on the top of the upper deck, or awning, most of the time until sundown. How many historical events are awakened by a passage down the Connecticut! Pequots, Mohegans, Dutchmen, and the Blue Laws! What a mixture! Weathersfield

with its onions! 'If there be any who have tears to shed, prepare to shed them now,' thought I. As we approached this venerable town I looked at it from the boat, but the most imposing object in sight was the State Prison. This is the town where my friend Doctor Samuel B. Woodward, superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum at Worcester, formerly resided and practiced. We stopped only at the wharf for a passenger.

"Our steamboat was perfectly new, having been running only two weeks. Many of the passengers, however, said that the engine was out of order, and expressed fears of accidents; and when we were off Bridgeport some part of the machinery broke, greatly to the consternation of the passengers. This compelled us to put in for repairs. We stopped at a little village called Black Rock, being in the town of Fairfield. We reached there a little before sundown. About twelve o'clock at night we left this place for New York, where we arrived about sunrise, Tuesday."

Thomas De Quincey struck at the pith of the joys of the fast-flying stage-coach, when, comparing travel by rail with travel as it was in the old days, he wrote: "Seated in the old mail-coach we needed no evidence out of ourselves to indicate the velocity. The vital experience of the glad animal sensibilities made doubts impossible on the question of our speed. We heard our speed, we saw it, we felt it a-thrilling; and this speed was not the product of blind, insensate energies that had no sympathy to give, but was incarnated in the fiery eyeballs of the noblest among brutes, his dilated nostril, his spasmodic muscles and thunder-beating hoofs."

The valedictory of that best beloved of all coachmen, Dickens' Tony Weller, is best of them all, when he said: "I consider that the rail is unconstitutional, and a inwader o' privileges. As to the comfort—as an old coachman I may say it—veres the comfort o' sitting in a harm-chair, a lookin' at brick walls, and heaps o' mud, never comin' to a public 'ouse, never seein' a glass o' ale, never goin' thro a pike, never meetin' a change o' no kind (hosses or otherwise) but always comin' to a place ven you comes to vun at all, the werry picter o' the last!

"As to the honor and dignity o' travellin', vere can that be vithout a coachman, and vats the rail to sich coachman as is sometimes forced to go by it, but a outrage and a insult! And as to the ingen, a nasty, wheezin', creakin', gaspin', puffin', bustin' monster always out of breath, with a shiny green and gold back like a onpleasant beetle; as to the ingen as is always a pourin' out red-hot coals at night and black smoke in the day, the sensiblest thing it does, in my opinion, is ven there's somethin' in the vay, and it sets up that 'ere frightful scream vich seems to say, 'now 'eres two hundred and forty passengers in the werry greatest extremity o' danger, and 'eres their two hundred and forty screams in vun!'"

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Story of Worcester County Transport (Continued)

The stage driver, as he emerged as a class out of the hard experience of his predecessors of the early days of coaching, was a man of consequence. Usually he was a fine specimen of physical manhood, proverbially good natured and courteous, and highly respected. He was trusted by his neighbors and his patrons, for whom he was often called upon to act as agent in matters of much moment, financial and otherwise. Rough and ready he might be, but he was self-respecting and unaccustomed to accept indignities. English travelers did not immediately understand him. He had none of the servility and greediness of the English coachman. To offer an American driver a money tip was to risk curt rebuke. Not to offer a gratuity to an English driver or guard was to invite insult and insolence.

An incident of the Post Road line between Boston and Hartford is worth telling to illustrate the stage driver's status. One of them had been so tanned by summer sun and winter wind that his mates, behind his back and among themselves, spoke of him as Black Ben. One day an English traveler, bustling importantly out of the stage office, shouted, "I and my people want to go with Black Ben. Are you the coachman they call Black Ben?" "Blackguards call me Black Ben," was the answer, "Gentlemen call me Mr. Jarvis."

Most of the drivers were on terms of intimacy with every important personage who traveled on their lines. Many of them graduated from the box to become men of affairs and themselves important personages. They were the idols of the boys, whose common ambition was to follow in their footsteps.

The driver as he served our Worcester County country had a multitude of duties to perform on his route, in addition to those of handling his team. There were messages to deliver, bills and notes to collect or pay, and goods

to purchase, besides the responsibility of delivering to banks and brokers packages of money for redemption, deposit or exchange. A stage driver's hat, when the monster bell crown was the fashion, was usually filled with letters and parcels. The profits of the errand business were his perquisites, and some of them found it so profitable that they became well-to-do as wealth was then measured.

Many of the old drivers became extraordinarily skillful with the lash. The story is told of one of them, a famous marksman, who bet the drinks with a gentleman on an outside seat that on passing the next flock of fowls within reach of his whip, he would behead any bird the passenger might select, the driver not to relinquish his reins or seat, nor to check the speed of the horses. But the passenger must pay the damages. Presently, on passing a farmhouse, a flock of hens, led by a lordly rooster, was discerned. The passenger picked the rooster, and quick as thought the lash flashed through the air, encircled the neck of the hapless chanticleer, and the head flew across the road.

Of our early drivers, Cuming, an Englishman, who traveled extensively in America, related that "though European drivers far exceeded the American in dexterity and speed over their fine roads, in America they would be good for nothing, and would pronounce it impossible to get a carriage through roads that the driver here dashes through without a thought."

Cuming would not have given the American stage driver second place, even in dexterity and speed, had he lived to visit the United States a generation later. He should have seen a coach on a Christmas eve entering a village with fanfare of bugle, as was the custom on that holy night. "Horses swing in with manes tossing, tires crunch in the crisp snow, girls and boys hurry out. The driver hands off the mail, twenty-four iron shoes waltz on the ice which clicks like castenets. Passengers alight and seek warmth at tavern bar and great fireplace. Unwinding reins from his legs, the driver steps down—great coat to his heels, rippling capes on his shoulders, visored seal cap pulled down to his eyebrows, red muffler and shawl around his neck, high buffalo shoes, gloves of tough buckskin—no signs of the man but his eyes and his hands. He unloads the Christmas express, and the villages know there is a Santa Claus."

The arrival or departure of the coach was always an incident of importance about the country inn and usually called out an admiring group of villagers and tavern employees. The skill shown in handling a lively team of four or six horses was an inspiring sight. The smoking, high-strung steeds dashed up to the tavern door at full speed, a touch of the reins and the wheels just grazed the door stone, and the coach stopped dead at exactly the right spot. The driver, standing at the bar, with his long coach-whip under his

arm, and his long drab overcoat falling to his heels, was a living image of a coachman of the old days stepped out of an English sporting print.

An old letter reads: "What a prince of drivers was Driver Gay! Handsome, dressy, and a perfect lady's man! How many ladies were attracted to a seat on the box beside him! How many young men envied his grace as a driver! So, also, were the tavern keepers of that day! They studied to please the public by their manners, though behind the scenes some of them could spice their conversation with big words."

Another old timer wrote: "The winter dress of these old drivers was nearly all alike. Their clothing was of heavy homespun, calfskin boots, thick trousers tucked inside the boots, and fur-lined overshoes over the boots. Over all these were worn Canadian hand-knit stockings, very heavy and thick, colored bright red, which came up nearly to the thighs, and still over that a light leather shoe. Their coats were generally fur or Buffalo skin with fur caps with ear protectors, either fur or wool tippets. Also a red silk sash that went round the body and tied on the left side with a double bow with tassels."

One Worcester County veteran who for many years drove his four or six horses, making his seventy-two miles daily in sunshine, rain or snow, and who could give some account of the occupants of every house on the route, put it: "In those days the stage drivers were smart and ambitious like, and pretty jealous of each other, for to see who could hitch up the best team, make the best time, and catch the most passengers. It made no difference to our pocketbooks, as we were on wages; but somehow, when you were on top of a shiny stage with four or oftener six good horses and all full inside and out, you felt as if you owned the whole concern, passengers and all. We were bound to make our trips in just so many hours, go fast or go slow. When we lost time on any part of the road we tried to make it up, every driver looking out sharp that none of the others got ahead of him. What a sight o' bags, bundles and bandboxes they did lug! How folks would crowd around and ask questions. They appeared to think a stage driver knew all that was going on in the world, and they were about right. He did in those days. The long pulls up the hills, and the rush of the coach and four or six horses down the other side, made the journey exciting and interesting."

The stage drivers, with some exceptions, were not teetotallers. On a journey there were many visits to tavern bars, and passengers invariably asked the driver to join them, and usually he accepted. But most of them were abstemious. Seldom, we believe, did they permit their senses to become befuddled. Their teams were not sufferers from the indiscretions of the men who held whip and reins.

But on occasion, no doubt, clashes of coaches of competing lines were the more reckless and exciting, and, withal more dangerous, because of the stimulating effects of good cheer at the bar. The following contemporaneous newspaper account printed in January, 1823, illustrates the point:

"To the Public: The stage from New York to Albany was overset on the Highlands, on Friday last, with six passengers on board, one of whom, a gentleman from Vermont, had his collar-bone broken, and the others were more or less injured, and placed in the utmost jeopardy of their lives and limbs, by the outrageous conduct of the driver. In descending a hill half a mile in length, an opposition stage being ahead, the driver put his horses in full speed to pass the forward stage, and in this situation the stage overset, with a heavy crash which nearly destroyed it, and placed the wounded passengers in a dreadful dilemma, especially as the driver could not assist them, as it required all his efforts to restrain the frightened horses from dashing down the hill which must have destroyed them all. It was, therefore, with the greatest difficulty, and by repeated efforts, the wounded passengers extricated themselves from the wreck of the stage. Such repeated wanton and wilful acts of drivers to gratify their caprice, ambition, or passions, generally under the stimulus of ardent spirits, calls aloud on the community to expose and punish these shameful aggressions."

"The old stage drivers belonged to a race which has passed away," wrote Mr. Currier, "And what a race they were, with bear-skin hats and overcoats, with their teams covered with ivory rings, coaches kept always neat and clean, with their magnificent horses. They acquired a way of thinking, all characteristic, and were sententious in their speech, expressing words with a terseness that many a stump speaker might envy. They possessed to a marked degree that faculty called 'horse sense.' They were character readers, knowing well not only every horse of their team, but also generally, every man who rode on the stage for the couple of hours. They did not mind exposure, heat and cold being received by them as part of their work, and although, generally, men whose word could be fully relied on, they did enjoy guying a passenger. What stories they could tell, and what jokes they could pass!

"Holmes has graphically delineated the 'Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.' How felicitously could he have described the autocrat of the tavern stable. The old Sudbury tavern has been immortalized by Longfellow, but no reference is made to its most important appendage, the bustling and important stage driver. The autocrat of all the Russias never assumed his imperial throne with half the airs of the stage autocrat in mounting his throne, the stagebox. Every look, every gesture, every order, impressed the crowd of rustics with a profound idea of his importance. These attentions were always

vastly pleasing to the 'knight of the whip,' as, with a flourish, he gathered up his ribbons and cracked the whip over the impatient team. The driver's bugle—having not a key, and on which the driver could not play a tune, only skips—to a boy awakened by its distant sound at early dawn, made the sweetest of music. To be an actual stage driver was the extreme ambition of many a country boy."

Typical of the old stage drivers was Harrison Bryant of Leominster, of whom Mr. Currier wrote most entertainingly. In his later driving days Bryant went to Vermont, where he drove from Rutland over the Green Mountains for five years, covering during that time over seventy thousand miles. The winters were severe, and the snow-drifts eight to ten feet deep. The farmers along the line kept the road well shovelled out, which he repaid by taking the children back and forth to the district schoolhouse. "Mr. Bryant never used tobacco or liquor, he never had a smash-up, or injured a passenger. It used to be the custom for the passengers to jump off at a tavern and run in to get their toddy. It was always, 'Come, driver, come in and have something.' At first he used to decline, but the landlords complained, saying he was a shingle off the house. He compromised by apparently joining them, keeping his glass covered with his hand, so that they could not see that he had no toddy in it.

"He left staging for a short time and went to farming in Athol. The third day of farmer's life, standing in a field, he saw the stage go by; the driver gave him a salute and cracked his whip; the horses sprang ahead on a gallop, and the passengers on top waved to him. The old coach bounded over the road and disappeared behind the turn. He began to feel lonesome and homesick, and wanted to get back on the box, guiding the leaders. The old time love for the business was too much for him, and he packed his carpet bag, and in two days was back on the seat, leaving the miles behind him."

It is written of the prevailing modes of driving: "On four-horse teams with four reins. The near wheel-horse rein came under the little finger of the left hand, the leader over the next finger, The off-wheel horse rein over third finger, right hand, leader over first finger. Six horses would require two more reins, and one more finger on each hand. Some drivers would wear mittens, and have one rein under and one over the fingers. These among good reinsmen were called Dummies or Old Farmers.

"The whip was carried in the right hand, horizontally pointing to the left, toward the ground. A good driver who was interested in his team always sat up straight, and kept his reins and whip in a stylish manner. He talked to his horses as he would to a person. Every horse knew him; they knew by his voice whether they were late for cars or early, and just where to make up time if late. A driver of this kind always had a good team, able to respond under all conditions."

Evolution of Our Stagecoaches—The stagecoach went through a gradual evolution. Long before the beginning of the century enterprising owners were striving to make their wagons comfortable for the passengers, but as a rule it was considerably later before a journey was easy and agreeable. Jansen in his book, "A Stranger in America," gives us a word picture of a coach of 1800, and other writers agree closely with him, when he says: "The vehicle, the American stagecoach, which is of like construction throughout the country, is calculated to hold twelve persons, who sit on benches placed across with their faces to the driver. The front seat holds three, one of whom is the driver. As there are no doors at the sides, the passengers get in over the front wheels. The first get seats behind the rest, the most esteemed seat because you can rest your shaken frame against the back part of the wagon. Women are generally indulged with it; and it is laughable to see them crawling to this seat. If they have to be late they have to straddle over the men seated further to the front."

Finally the Concord coach appeared on the roads, the Pullman of its era, with its oval body, lofty driver's seat, and leather lined interior and comfortable seats. The iron railing which ran around the top enclosed the big box, little box, bandbox, and bundle. Hair-covered trunks and sole-leather portmanteaus were strapped on a rack behind, or deposited in the big boot beneath the driver's seat. Nothing ever replaced the Concord coach. It was used almost exclusively in the opening of the far west until the railroads came, and long afterward in reaching points that the rails did not touch. Even today it holds its place in isolated regions, against the competition of the motor bus and automobile. In Worcester County, stored away in old barns, or coach houses, several may yet be seen. Theirs was the hey-day of coaching, after the roads had been made good and travel had become more general, and the taverns had attained the acme of good cheer.

Pleasures and Pains of Coaching—Even after the county was criss-crossed with stage lines, the people as a whole did very little traveling, either for business or for pleasure. Transportation was not cheap, nor would the rates be considered cheap today. The fare ranged from six cents to ten cents a mile, according to speed, and also according to the accommodations offered the passenger. When there were seats on the roof, usually for nine or twelve persons, those who occupied them paid perhaps six cents a mile, while a seat inside cost the traveler ten cents. In winter, outside passengers suffered severely from the cold, while those within were, by comparison, warm. But in summer conditions were reversed, for the interior was often hot and stuffy, while the roof offered clean fresh air and perhaps a pleasant breeze.

The cost of a long journey was augmented by tavern charges, though these were not high. A passenger paid eighteen and three-quarters cents for breakfast or supper, and twenty-five cents for dinner. If he desired a drink, a glass of French brandy cost him six cents, a glass of gin or Jamaica rum three cents, and a glass of whisky two cents. A domestic cigar, a huge affair, sold for a cent, and a good Havana cigar for three cents.

Travel was tedious, especially when the roads were in bad condition, but it was not without its attractions in good weather. Fellow-passengers gradually entered into conversation, and usually some one or other was aboard who was familiar with the route and the country through which they were traveling, and was glad to impart entertaining information.

"There was a sense of freedom, and abundant enjoyment of the surroundings, and a disposition to be obliging and considerate by giving up the best seats to the ladies, by consenting to the admission or exclusion of fresh air and by the convenient arrangment of the feet. Of course, the least amiable qualities of human nature would sometimes assert themselves, and selfish people would improve the opportunity for making all the other passengers uncomfortable; but the air of the stagecoach was generally surcharged with good humor."

Ralph Waldo Emerson used to tell the story of a woman deeply veiled and dressed in mourning who was riding in a stagecoach, sitting opposite a small, sharp-featured, black-eyed woman, who began catechising her thus: "Have you lost friends?" "Yes, I have." "Was they near friends?" "Yes, they was." "How near?" "A husband and a brother." "Where did they die?" "Down in Mobile." "What did they die of?" "Yellow fever." "How long was they sick?" "Not very long." "Was they sea-faring men?" "Yes," "Did you save their chists?" "Yes, I did." "Was they hopefully pious?" "I hope and trust so." "Well, you got their chists, and they were hopefully pious, you have much to be thankful for."

Another stagecoach story is told of a very fat man who intrusted a friend to purchase two seats for him in a coach, that he might have plenty of room, and when he embarked for his journey discovered that one seat was inside, the other on the top.

Even as late as the 1830's, there was great hardship in travel unless the regular coach lines were patronized. Charles Sumner traveled from Boston to Washington in February, 1834, making the initial stage of the journey over the Boston-Hartford Post Road which crossed a corner of Worcester County through Mendon, Uxbridge and Douglas. Writing of his experience he said: "We started from Boston at half-past three o'clock Monday morning, with twelve passengers and their full complement of baggage on board, and with six horses. The way was very dark, so that, though I rode with the driver,

it was some time before I discovered we had six horses. Light overtook us at Newton Falls, about ten miles from the city; breakfasted at Natick, sixteen miles, part of us; then for thirty miles drove in a crazy wagon. After that I rode sixteen miles in a gig, driving a horse that Rosinante would not have owned as a kinsman, over roads almost impassable to the best of animals. Every step that my horse took was caused by a blow from my whip. It was thus that I rode, literally working my passage, as much as he who drove the horse on the canal. My shoulder is lame from whipping the poor brute.

"I arrived in Thompson, the first town we enter in Connecticut, about three o'clock P. M., about sixty miles from Boston. Here we dined and again started, weary on our way, with forty miles of heavy traveling before us. Changed horses every sixteen miles. The moon was up, making the road less gloomy than it otherwise would have been; but even this deserted us before we arrived in Hartford, which was not until three o'clock Tuesday morning, having been on the road twenty-three hours. I sat with the driver all the time. The cold was benumbing during that night, so much so that the experienced driver complained. At 11 o'clock A. M., started from Hartford for New Haven, route of forty miles, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the evening." The rest of the Washington journey was typical of the travel of the day—from New Haven to New York by steamboat, thence to Baltimore by boat and rail, and finally the thirty-eight miles to Washington by stage over a road so poor that the journey which started at half-past eight in the morning did not end till night. No wonder Sumner wrote: "Calhoun will speak tomorrow. I shall probably hear him, and he will be the last man I shall ever hear speak in Washington. I shall probably never come here again." But Sumner was wrong. He was destined to play an important part in affairs at the National Capitol.

Mr. Sumner surely had a tough journey. But he traveled under the worst possible conditions. There was another and fascinating side to stagecoaching. In that delightfully and faithfully written book *Romantic Rebel, The Story of Nathaniel Hawthorne,* by his granddaughter, Hildegarde Hawthorne (1932), she tells of the long coach journey of the Hawthorne family, the mother and children, one of whom was the great Hawthorne, then a little boy, from Salem to Raymond, in Maine. That was in 1816. "So in June," says the book, "she and the excited children set out in one of the Manning coaches, carrying their hand-luggage and a favorite cat and kitten in a basket, their trunks and a box of books being sent ahead by carrier. The trip was a wonderful experience for them all. They spent the nights at inns, where they changed horses, traveling easily on through country as lovely as there is on earth, blessed with perfect weather. Delightedly the children jumped out to

walk and save the horses on the long sandy hills. At noon they picnicked by the roadside while the horses munched their corn, and their driver, a stout, middle-aged man well known to Nathaniel—who liked to hang about the Manning stables—pointed out items in the landscape. On the route Nathaniel was permitted to sit beside him and be entertained with stirring tales of the hazards of the road, of breakdowns, storms, floods, bridges swept away, fords made impassable. A wild life, evidently, that of a stage driver."

Let us hark to the idealist. Mrs. Earle wrote of a stagecoach journey on a day of sunshine: "From the fields came the scent of flowering buckwheat and mellifluous clover, and later of newmown hay, sometimes varied by the tonic breath of the salt hay on the sea marshes. The orchards wafted the perfumes from apple blossoms, and from the pure blooms of cherry and plum and pear; in the woods the beautiful wild cherries equalled their domestic sisters.

"How sweet, how healthful the cool depths of the pine woods, how clean the hemlock, spruce, fir, pine and juniper, and how sweet and balsamic their united perfume. And from the woods and roadside such varied sweetness! The faint hint of perfume from the hidden arbutus in early spring, and the violet; the azalea truly ambrosial with its pure honey smell; the intense cloying clethra, with the strange odor of its bruised foliage; the meadow-sweet; the strong perfume of the barberry; and freshest, purest, best of all, the bayberry throwing off balm from every leaf and berry. Even in the late autumn, the scent of the dying brakes and ferns were as beloved by the country-lover as the fresh smell of the upturned earth in the spring after the farmer's plough, or the scent of burning brush."

A charming picture, that, though we may not agree that many of the old-time travelers noted it. Perhaps within the coach, the odor of hot leather was too dominantly strong. But for all that, all must have felt the charm of our Worcester County country, beautiful everywhere today, and just as beautiful a century ago.

The Day of the Turnpike—Soon after the opening of the nineteenth century, the improvement of roads, then proceeding rapidly, took the form of building turnpikes. They were constructed as private enterprises, returns on the investment coming from collected tolls. One such was the Boston and Worcester turnpike, which in the last few years has been converted into one of the finest stretches of highway in the country—a four-lane road, almost as straight as an arrow.

The favorite principle of the turnpike builders was that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, and this they put into effect. It made no difference to them that long, steep hills could be avoided by a trifling

bend in the route. They preferred to go straight ahead, regardless of contour. Today, with its countless thousands of motor cars, the principle is a good one, for the avoidance of curves is a dominating rule in the cause of safety. But in the day of the horse, the long, hard hills told on the coach teams and probably slowed the running time.

The Worcester turnpike had its beginning at Lincoln Square. Its first mile or more is the present Belmont Street from which it enters Shrewsbury Street. The lake was crossed on a floating bridge of wooden caissons, later replaced by a causeway and where now is the massive and beautiful concrete structure. Within the limits of Worcester it was necessary to cut through a formidable ledge and to fill in for a lofty embankment, which cost much money. But the roadbuilders were satisfied. They kept the line straight. As a financial venture this highway was a dead loss to its stockholders.

At about the same time charters were granted for the Worcester and Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, Turnpike, and the Worcester and Leicester and Worcester and Sutton turnpikes. Some work was done on the first, but the proposed roads to Sutton and Leicester were never begun.

The old Hardwick Turnpike still exists. Its beginning is at Main Street and its eastern end is Pleasant Street which it follows to about the Paxton line, where it branches in a sharp angle to the southward as Fowler Street. Its course to New Braintree and Hardwick is nearly, if not quite as straight as a fastidious disciple of the turnpike theory would wish.

The Story of Ginery Twitchell—No story of transportation in Worcester County would not be complete without something about Ginery Twitchell who earned the title of the "Unrivalled Express Rider." He first came to public notice as driver of the stage between Barre and Worcester, and eventually gained such popularity that he was presented with a stagecoach of his own, from which beginning he came to be the owner of a number of stage lines and more than two hundred horses. Later in life, as a railroad man, he was president of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, Boston, Barre & Gardner Railroad, Hoosac Tunnel & Western Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé, and represented the Worcester County district in Congress. But his great fame was as an express rider.

One of his memorable rides, in an easterly storm, was from Worcester to Greenfield, a distance of fifty-five miles, and thence back to Worcester and on to Boston, a total distance of one hundred and fifty-five miles, in order to carry dispatches for the newspaper *The Atlas*. His ride which won for him the name of "The Unrivalled Express-Rider" was made in 1846, during the excitement over the Oregon question. His biographer tells the story as follows:

"The leading newspapers of New York were eager to secure dispatches expected to arrive at Boston by the foreign steamers in January, 1846. The *New York Herald* made arrangement to carry its own dispatches from Boston to Norwich by railroad, thence by boat to Long Island, and across the island by express rider to New York City. The *Tribune* and other papers of New York and Philadelphia being excluded by the *Herald* from participating in its arrangements with the railroad and steamboat companies on the route, Mr. Twitchell was obliged to use horses instead of steam power for most of the distance. He could obtain an engine to run from Boston to Worcester only on condition of its being fifteen minutes behind the *Herald* train. From Worcester to Hartford, a distance of sixty-six miles, he rode on horseback through deep snow in the extraordinarily short time of three hours and twenty minutes; thence from Hartford to New Haven by railroad, thirty-six miles; from New Haven to New York, seventy-six miles, by horses, and reached New York City in season for the printing of the dispatches before the arrival of those of the *Herald*."

But Ginery Twitchell did not always have the best of it. Chedorlaomer Marshall, a famous Fitchburg stage owner, could boast one victory over the great postrider. The repeal of the corn laws in England in 1846 aroused great interest, especially in Canada, and it being before the days of the telegraph, in order to convey the news as quickly as possible, Ginery Twitchell and Marshall, who were warm personal friends, entered into a wager as to which would get the news to Montreal first, Marshall going over the regular coach route through Ashburnham from Fitchburg, while Twitchell took the other route from Worcester. On the arrival of the steamer in Boston, a special locomotive left over the Fitchburg Railroad and made the run to Fitchburg in fifty-one minutes, a record which, it is claimed, has never since been equalled.

Marshall had been waiting three days for the news, with a horse harnessed night and day, and a man sleeping in the kitchen ready for the hitch into a sleigh. In a few minutes Marshall was on his way, with "Old Buck" between the shafts. He made the trip to Ashburnham in twenty-seven minutes and reached Windsor, Vermont, that night. He was in Montreal far ahead of Ginery Twitchell, which was something to boast of wherever horsemen gathered.

Apparently Mr. Twitchell occasionally drove his old coach for pleasure, even after he had attained riches and national prominence as a citizen. We find in the *Boston Post* of June 1, 1867, the following news item: "The venerable coach built by Moses T. Breck of Worcester, and used thirty years ago by Hon. Ginery Twitchell for special occasions before railroads were fairly in vogue, passed through our Boston streets on Friday. The vehicle

was of a most substantial pattern; no repairs have been needed through all these years except an occasional coat of varnish and new upholstering.

"In 1840, by request of the citizens of the town of Barre, seats were added on the top of the vehicle, so that a party of thirty-two persons could be accommodated (twelve inside and twenty outside). The largest load ever carried was a party of sixty-two young ladies of Worcester who, uniformly dressed, were driven on a blackberry excursion to the suburbs by Mr. Twitchell himself, eight matched horses being required on the occasion. During the exciting Presidential campaign of 1840, the staunch vehicle was used for conveying the sovereigns to and from political gatherings in the towns surrounding old Quinsigamond."

A Stage Journey a Century Ago—Mr. Currier painted a graphic word picture of a stage journey of a century ago, as follows: "Traveling was then a matter requiring preparations and forethought. One did not then leave the house for the place of business, and on the decision of a few minutes, start on a journey of fifty or one hundred miles. A careful packing of the trunk was attended to, the coach office was visited the evening previous, that a seat might be booked, and notice given to call at the house for the passenger 'through.'

"The coach office had an atmosphere of travel, its furniture and belongings savoring of dust and distance. The whips and box-coats with big buttons, like wide-awake eyes, hanging from the pegs on the walls, had a look of resting from travel, but ready to jump down and be off at a moment's notice. The walls were covered with handbills and advertisements, headed with the names of distant cities, woodcuts of well-filled stagecoaches, drawn at an incredible rate over dusty roads by prancing teams of long-tailed horses, with drivers on the boxes flourishing their whips with most unnecessary length, considering the apparent activity of the horses.

"With the would-be traveler there was a preparation and anticipation, pleasant or dismal as the case might be, but always exciting, with ever-recurring speculation as to tomorrow's weather. The table is laid for breakfast over night. Repeated inquiries are made as to whether sundry articles have been packed, and discussion as to keeping a light burning all night, but examination of the box at the oven-mouth showing the tinder quite dry, it is deemed safe to trust to flint and steel for light in the morning. With a last admonition to the servant girl not to oversleep, the family at a late hour, betakes itself to slumber.

"Then the morning; the half awakening; the striving to collect one's thoughts; the sudden bounding out of bed when the remembrance of the day's journey flashes on the mind; striking a light by the means of the tinderbox;

hastily drawing aside the curtains and peering out into the cool air to look at the gray morning, to see what the weather is like; the running to call the cook and leaving the light at her door; the hurried toilet by lamplight; the last strapping of the trunk; the opening it to put in some forgotten but necessary articles; forcing one's self to eat the hastily prepared breakfast, with oft-repeated injunctions from the members of the family to be careful of this or that parcel, and not to forget that message or errand. The care for one's health is enjoined, and if the traveler is young, and the absence from home is to be for any extended time, a due regard for sound morals is inculcated.

"The young people, exhilarated by the unusual bustle, are running in and out with false alarms that the stage is coming. First, an early milk cart causes the traveler to leave talking, drop his knife and fork, jump from the table, wiping his mouth in a hurry to kiss the female part of the group; the mistake is laughed at, and then, perhaps, a market wagon causes another hurried leave-taking. Finally, a low, heavy rumble, gradually growing louder and, mingling with the unmistakable rattle, the sharp cracking of a whip, and a loud 'Whoa!' announces the arrival of the stage. The burly driver and stage office runner seize the trunk between them, and the last words of parting are said. The driver opens the door with a twist and a jerk, and the traveler enters the dim interior of the coach; the iron steps are put up with a sharp clang, the door shut with violence; the driver mounts the box, gathers up the reins, calls cheerily to his team, and the stage moves off with a roll and clatter of the iron-shod horses' feet mingling with the last good-byes of the group of friends who stand at the doorstep, the father holding aloft a flaming lamp which casts a flickering glare over the scene, and the passengers settling themselves back in their seats for the day's journey.

"At this early hour the street is silent, except for the rattle of the coach; and deserted, except by an occasional laborer bound for his daily toil. The signs over the shop doors look very queer in the dim light; the stage dashes onward through the streets, in which the houses grow more and more scattered; then the coach runs smoothly along the wide turnpike road, the gray light increases and grows ruddy, and the features of the passengers can be distinguished by one another. As they slowly climb up the hill they meet market wagons whose drivers give a hearty greeting. Dashing along, they soon meet the farmers, who have already commenced their long day's toil; the mowers stop half-way in their swath, and turn to gaze at the coach; the men in the cornfield lean on their hoes and stare after it; the women in the yard turn back their sun-bonnets and peep over the clothes-line, and the girls in the farmhouse run briskly to the window.

"After leaving the nine-mile house, where breakfast is again partaken, they soon overtake groups of ruddy, barefooted children, carrying little tin

pails or small Indian baskets, bound for the little brown schoolhouse yonder, at the fork of the roads; they all bow and courtesy with more energy and good-will than grace, and so do the urchins at the schoolhouse as they pass it, who are all bareheaded as well as barefooted, and shade their eyes with their arms, and stare at the passengers after making their manners.

"The cows look up as the stage passes their pastures, whisk their tails and resume their feeding, but every colt whinnies and follows to the limit of his paddock until, frightened and indignant at the crack of the driver's whip, he starts away from the roadside fence on a furious gallop, then wheels about and stands with head and tail erect, snorting in wonder and defiance. The cool, balmy air of the country, the sight of the pleasant, shady woods, of the rich meadows, the fields of grain waving in a gentle breeze and glittering with dewdrops, the singing of the birds, and the rapid motion of the coach, are delightful and exhilarating. The passengers have become acquainted, and conversation has become general and animated; the weather, the crops, politics and religion, are all duly discussed.

"Way-passengers are taken up from time to time and set down again. Frequently arriving at neat little villages, the driver gives warning blasts on his horn that the right of way must be given to the United States mail, and drives up at a round trot in front of the store where the post office is kept. During the changing of the mail, they sit at the coach window and watch the postmaster and his clerk rapidly assorting the packages, while the customers, who are postponed to the imperious haste of Uncle Sam, lean over the counters and beguile the wait of from seven to fifteen minutes staring at the showy advertisements of cordials and pills. Several small boys linger around the store door, walking gingerly with bare feet on the coarse gravel, glancing furtively at the coach, hoping some of the passengers may want a drink of water, and thus give them an opportunity to earn a few pennies by bringing it. The driver meanwhile waters his horses from a bucket, chiding them when they try to put their noses into it out of turn, and dashes the frothy leavings upon the feet of the leaders. The travelers gaze at the quiet, shady streets of the village, wondering whether they would like to live there, and soliloquize on the inhabitants.

"The driver again mounts the box, clicks to his horses, and away they go; descending a gentle slope they enter a long, level plain, and with crack of the whip, away they speed at a swift gallop, the horses tossing their heads and rattling their harnesses as if in exhilaration at the rapidity of the motion; while the driver, holding whip and reins in one hand, takes off his hat with the other, and, resting it on his knees, pulls out his handkerchief and wipes his forehead, partly because he has a habit of doing it, and partly because it is well to show the passengers how cool he is and how easy it is to drive a

four-in-hand when you have had as much experience as he has. Having done this leisurely—otherwise the effect would be materially impaired—he replaces his handkerchief, puts on his hat, squares his elbows, cracks his whip again, and on they speed as merrily as before.

"Approaching the town where an exchange of horses is to be made, the driver commences to undo the buckle which keeps his ribbons together, and prepares to throw them off the moment he stops at the tavern yard where the fresh horses are waiting with blankets on. The change is quickly made. In the meantime the driver and most of the passengers alight to stretch their cramped limbs and lubricate their dry throats. A very slight excuse avails for even the clergyman and ladies to take a sip of the excellent punch which the landlord has prepared. Again mounting the coach, the driver gathers up his reins, the helpers haul off the blankets, and with a cheery 'All right,' off they go.

"The arrival at the stopping place for dinner is an important event, and the landlord on the sound of the approaching stage repairs to the tavern door, where, with smiling, cheerful face and hearty greeting, he welcomes the traveler who, with sharpened appetite, is ready to do full justice to the abundant and substantial fare provided. There is no hurry, as ample time is allowed, and the dinner hour passes with many a laugh and story. Resuming their seats, refreshed, they enter the last stage of their day's travel; and despite the fatigue—as they begin to feel with Geoffrey Crayon, that 'it is a comfort to shift one's position and be bruised in a new place'—they remember with regret that they are nearing their journey's end.

"At last, from the top of a high hill, they see far away in the distance the outline of the town for which they are bound. Rolling, pitching, rattling, the flying coach descends the hill at a headlong rate, in pursuit of the galloping team whose sixteen white feet seem sixteen times that number from the window as they go; swiftly revolving wheels grinding through the gravel and hissing through the sand, leaving behind them for many rods a long, trailing cloud of dust, which glistens in the slanting, ruddy sunbeams, like the golden sand of an African river. The passengers look forward to the dispersion of their little company with regret, and tell each other how much they have enjoyed the trip and the acquaintances formed, and express the hope that they may meet again.

"Now, in the twilight, they are driving over a long bridge, and through the streets; the clocks of the town are striking eight; strange buildings tower on either hand, and over the doors of brilliantly lighted shops are unfamiliar names. Suddenly the coach stops, swaying on its springs at the door of a strange tavern. A porter rushes out and opens the door. With good-byes to their companions, they are at their journey's end."

Freight Traffic on the Highways—In picturing a Worcester County highway in the early 1800's, the passing scene must not be confined to the smart stagecoaches with passengers atop and within and dashing teams of mettlesome horses, and private equipages carrying the owner and his family, and horsemen and horsewomen. Freight traffic more often dominated the moving panorama, particularly as roads converged in approaching a market center. The Boston Post Road often saw lines of heavily laden wagons drawn by well-kept teams, bound for Boston, some of them from as far away as the Connecticut Valley and beyond, or returning home. Fitchburg and Leominster and other north county towns through which passed the main arteries of travel perhaps had even more of this freight traffic, as wagons passed back and forth between the broad farming countries to the west and north, even from far Berkshire and northern New Hampshire and Vermont, and the more thickly populated regions of eastern Massachusetts. Another great stream of traffic flowed back and forth through the south county over the Boston-Hartford turnpike.

Old letters tell of traffic congestion which at times seems to have rivalled that of the crowded highways of today and made progress by private vehicle difficult. One can imagine such a scene when the road was deep with dust, which, thrown up in thick clouds by hoofs and wheels and the feet of walking drivers, must have well-nigh obscured the view.

While the nineteenth century was still young, freight transport had become an important industry. Until the building of the railroads, everything had to be hauled by oxen or horses. The day of the ox had passed. Boston and Salem and the other rapidly growing centers of population along the coast demanded great quantities of the products of Worcester County farms and those of the country farther inland, to feed their people. These farmers required great quantities of the goods which could be had only in the large trading centers, and bought them in barter or with the money received for their own products. Conditions required that they employ agents to act for them in the selling and buying. These were the freight carriers who did a business akin to that of the motor truck carriers of the present day. They had a steady and lucrative patronage the year round, though probably greater in summer than in winter, when many farmers made it their business to load their own sledges with whatever they had for market, and make the journey themselves as a profitable and enjoyable excursion.

The first wagon of the settlers was the clumsily built and clumsy to operate two-wheel cart, which served its purpose on the original rough roads. Probably a four-wheel vehicle would have been impossible to handle. But as time went on the wagons grew and grew, until some of them were of truly monstrous size, broad and high, and covered, and loaded a ton to a horse, and

sometimes there were ten horses. Some of these were of the general pattern of the famous Conestoga wagons which originated in Pennsylvania and from which developed the "prairie schooner" of the trans-continental migration.

There were other freight carriers—the three-horse wagon called a "spike," the two-horse wagon known as the "podanger," and the one-horse "gimlet." No regular teamster could drive one of these; less than a four-horse wagon was beneath him. Yet there was a camaraderie among them all. The "regulars" would good-naturedly help to pull a lesser vehicle out of the mud or snow when the occasion demanded, which was something no stage driver, drover or other self-respecting traveling citizen would do.

No vocation produced sturdier or better men than these drivers. With hardly an exception they were big, hearty, healthy Yankees, blessed with hard common sense and regular habits. Though they seldom were total abstainers, they were never drunkards. Their life was too vigorous for that. They were kind to their horses. The whip was a badge of office and rarely anything more. They had to be good merchants and keen traders, for they must sell to advantage the loads they carried to market for their customers, and buy wisely in carrying out their commissions for the return load. Not only the farmers and villagers depended upon them, but the country merchants relied upon them for their stocks of goods of all descriptions.

A man who remembered these teams of his boyhood told: "When these large teams were hooked to the wagons, the starting word was 'whoo-up,' and the horses would at once place themselves in position. Then 'Order, whope, *git!* To turn to left, 'whoa, whoa,' softly; to the right, 'Gee there.' For a full stop, 'Whoa who-oof,' in louder voice, and all would come to a standstill. It was a fine sight to see six or eight good horses spread out, marching along in each other's steps, and see how quick they were to mind the driver's voice. Good drivers always spoke to their teams in a low voice, never shouted. The teamsters walked beside their teams, twenty miles a day the average. The reins were done up on each horse's hames, allowing them to spread apart with ease, a checkrein from the bit over the hames to keep them where they belonged. You could never teach a horse anything that wasn't checked up. The wagons weighed from eighteen hundred to twenty-two hundred pounds. Some wagons had an adjustable seat called a 'lazy board.'"

With the coming of the winter snows the wagons were housed, and thousands of sleighs, pods and pungs took their place. "The farmer no longer sent to town by wagon and teamster, but carried his produce to town himself, just as his grandfather had in the days of the cart and sled before the Revolution. Winter brought red-letter days to the New England farmer" wrote Alice Morse Earle; "summer and autumn were his time of increase, but winter was his time of trade and of glorious recreation. Friendly word

was circulated from farm to farm, spread chiefly at the Sabbath nooning, that at stated date, at break of day the long ride to market would begin. Often twenty or thirty neighbors would start together on the road to town. The two-horse pung or single horse pod, shod with steel shoes one inch thick, was closely packed with farm wealth—anything that a New England farm could produce that could be sold in a New England town. Frozen hogs, poultry and venison; firkins of butter, casks of cheeses—four to a cask—, bags of beans, pease, sheep pelts, deer hides, skins of mink, fox and fish-cat that the boys had trapped, perhaps a splendid bearskin, nuts that the boys had gathered, shoe pegs that they had cut, yarn their sisters had spun, stockings and mittens they had knitted, homespun cloth and linen, a forest of splint brooms strapped on behind, birch brooms that the boys had whittled. So closely packed was the sleigh that the driver could not sit; he stood on a little semi-circular step on the back of the sleigh, protected from the cutting winds by the high sleigh back. At times he ran alongside to keep his blood briskly warm.

"The tavern keepers might well have grown rich had all these winter travelers paid for board as well as lodging, but nearly all, even the wealthiest farmers, carried their own provender and food. Part of their oats and hay for their horses sometimes was deposited with honest tavern keepers on the way down to be used on the way home; and there was always plenty of food to last through the journey: doughnuts, cooked sausages, roast pork, rye and 'injun' bread, cheese, and a bountiful mass of bean porridge. This latter, made in a tub and frozen in a great mass, was hung by loops of twine by the side of the sleigh, and great chunks were chopped off from time to time. This itinerant picnic was called in some vicinities tuck-a-muck, an Indian word; also mitchin. It was not carried from home because tavern fare was expensive,—a 'cold bite' was but twelve and a half cents, and a regular meal but twenty-five cents; but the tavern keeper did not expect to serve meals to this class or to such a great number of travelers. His profits were made on liquor he sold and sleeping room he gave."

Tom Cook, Highwayman and "Honest Thief"—There were highwaymen in the old days in New England as well as in Old England, but as a rule they paid more attention to thievery than to holding up stagecoaches at the muzzle of a pistol. In Worcester County one of the most notorious was Tom Cook, born in Westboro in 1741, son of the village blacksmith. Legend has it that he was in league with the devil, all because of an incident of his infant days. He was very close to death, and, following the custom of the day, good Dr. Parkman, the village minister, and his deacons prayed earnestly, asking that the Lord's will be done. The mother, Eunice Cook, pleaded

differently, "Only spare his life and I care not what he becomes." That was the mischief of it.

The baby recovered and as a lad soon showed what his future would be. His evil pranks convinced the people that he had entered into a compact with the devil, perhaps through his mother's agonized words, perhaps by his own pledge.

Finally, the story went, the last year of the devilish agreement came to a close, and Satan appeared to claim his own as Tom was dressing for another day. "Wait, wait, can't you, till I get my galluses on?" he demanded in answer to the imperious call of his visitor, and, this being his last request on earth, the devil agreed. Whereupon, the wily Tom threw his suspenders in the fire and the devil was foiled forever.

Cook became notorious as a most extraordinary rascal, and his name may be found on the criminal records of some of our county towns. He called himself "The Leveller," and the public knew him as "The Honest Thief." He stole from the rich and well-to-do with boldness and cunning, but he gave to the poor with infinite kindness and delicacy of feeling. He stole the dinner from a wealthy farmer's kitchen and dropped it in a poor man's house. He stole grain and meal from passing wagons and gave it away under the owner's eyes. A poor neighbor was sick and her bed hard and cold. Unperceived he entered a thrifty farmhouse, selected the best feather bed, tied it up in a sheet, carried it down stairs and out of doors, and then went to the front door and asked permission to leave his bundle there for a few days. The mistress of the house recognized him as the wicked Cook and forbade him bringing it within her doors. So with a light conscience he went his way and the sick woman lay in comfort.

In Dr. Parkman's diary, now resposing in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, under date of August 27, 1779, is this entry: "The notorious Thos. Cook came in (he says) on Purpose to see me. I gave him what Admonition, Instruction and Caution I could—I beseech God to give it force! He leaves me with fair words—thankful and promising."

Finally he was brought to trial for arson or burglary or robbery or other heinous crime, and was convicted and sentenced to death. He heard the dooming words of the judge, "I therefore sentence you to be hanged by the neck till you are dead, dead, dead," and called back, with a grin on his face, "I shall not be there on that day, day, day." Nor was he. When the wardens went to fetch him to the gibbet, his cell was empty.

This man, who was regarded as master highwayman as well as master thief, though there is no actual record to prove him a true Knight of the Road, is described as good looking, agile, well-formed, well-featured with eyes of deepest blue, and with a piercing though kindly glance. He was adored by

the children, and his pockets were always filled with toys he had stolen for their entertainment. Rich farmers paid him annual toll to free themselves of the threat against their property.

His one really unfortunate experience was when he was caught roasting in the fireplace of an empty house, a goose stolen from the wagon of a farmer who was on his way to market. He was taken to the village tavern, which was filled with carters and farmers, many of whom had been his victims. He was given his choice between a trip to jail or running the gantlet of the assembled men. He chose the latter, and the whips of these experts paid off many an old score against "the Honest Thief."

CHAPTER XL.

The Story of Worcester County Transport (Continued)

The Blackstone Canal, connecting Worcester with tidewater at Providence, Rhode Island, and opened for transportation in 1828, was doomed to certain financial failure by the impending advent of the railroads. Had its promoters waited only a year or two, they could have foreseen the steam locomotive providing a freight service with which a canal could not compete. It might give lower rates on some classes of bulk freight, but in the New England climate, with ice-bound waters in the winter, and floods and the low waters of drought in the open months, it could not operate continuously and dependably. Those who invested their money in the enterprise were losers. But in the decade of the active operation of the canal, opening in 1828 and 1829 the territory which it served reaped most substantial and enduring benefits.

Worcester was a rapidly growing manufacturing center, and also an important distributing point, serving a large farming country and a considerable number of thriving mill villages. The Blackstone Valley had already become an important manufacturing district. In the forty-five miles of its length, wherever there was a fall of water, a cotton mill or woolen mill had been established. The problem of transportation was one of vital consideration. The overland hauling of raw materials for the industries and of the finished products to the seaports, whence most of them were shipped to market, was too great an item of costs. An actual canvass by the commissioners who controlled the canal showed that the yearly transportation for Worcester County alone totalled twenty-five thousand tons. Of this, as experience proved, the Blackstone Canal got the lion's share.

The saving to shippers was enormous. In Worcester, for example, the freight charge was reduced $3.80 on every ton brought into the town. Bos-

ton wholesalers were mightily disturbed. They saw their inland trade slipping from them, the importance of their own city dwindling as that of the rival port of Providence increased. They were even forced to route Boston shipments to Worcester by way of Providence and the canal. A typical instance was a lot of iron for Worcester foundries and forge shops carried by water from New York to Boston, for reshipment overland. Instead it was sent by vessel to Providence, and transferred to a canal boat, and hauled from the towpath the forty-five miles to its final destination. Even after this roundabout journey, there was a saving to the consignee of $2.28 a ton.

Reckoned from twentieth century standards of freight volume, the business done by the canal may seem small. Yet in 1835, the year of the opening of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, the little boats, hauled by plodding horses, carried 810 tons of iron, 3,590 bales of cotton, 3,151 bales of wool, 292 tons of leather, 810 tons of coal, 43,137 gallons of oil, 8,618 bushels of corn, 16,278 barrels of flour, and 18,223 bushels of salt. And, naturally, there was a considerable tonnage of miscellaneous freight. Nor was this the largest year in the canal's brief history. It was close to the average.

But looking over the amount of tolls collected, in other words the money taken in, one wonders that the Blackstone Canal was able to do business even in the years of its greatest prosperity, for there must have been an annual deficit, or, at the best, no better than an even break between receipts and operating expenses. One of the important reasons why shippers found canal freightage so economical may have been that rates were too low. Here are the total tolls collected in the period from the beginning of operations in 1828 and including 1836: 1828, $1,000; 1829, $8,606; 1830, $12,016; 1831, $14,945; 1832, $18,907; 1833, $17,545; 1834, $16,464; 1835, $14,433; and 1836, $11,500. From that time until the last toll was collected in 1848, receipts declined steadily. There is wide variation between these figures and the $45,000 net earnings which would have been required to pay six per cent. on an investment of $750,000.

No one will dispute the words of the late Henry Chapin of Worcester and Uxbridge, written many years ago, when he characterized it as "a magnificent enterprise. Every town along the line of the canal is deeply indebted to it for its present growth and prosperity." And it is an important list of towns in Worcester County alone—Worcester, Millbury, Grafton, Northbridge, Uxbridge, Millville, Blackstone, and the various villages which have grown up about their mills.

The pity of it all lies in the refusal of the Massachusetts Legislature to grant a charter for the Blackstone Canal when it was originally petitioned for in 1796. John Brown of Providence, whose merchantmen first carried Rhode Island trade to China and the Indies, was the initial mover in the

ambitious project. It was his brother, Moses Brown, who, in 1789, invited Samuel Slater to emigrate to America and bring with him his knowledge of cotton manufacturing, which resulted in the establishment of the country's first cotton mill at Pawtucket, and not many years later the founding of the great Slater Mills at Webster. The petition prayed for sanction for opening a water highway from the navigable waters near Providence to the interior parts of Worcester County, and, if feasible, on to the Connecticut River.

Powerful opposition immediately developed. Boston took alarm. She had gained control of the Middlesex Canal, which followed the Merrimac River and gave water connection between Boston and Lowell and intermediate points. Her merchants were greatly disturbed that the region of central Massachusetts, constantly growing in importance, might divert its trade to the rival port of Providence. A counter plan was projected, and the Legislature was petitioned for a charter for the Boston and Worcester Canal. Probably its promoters were sceptical of the practicability of the route they advocated, but their obstructionist tactics prevailed, and both petitions were rejected. It was a disheartening incident. Quoth the *National Aegis* of Worcester: "The failure of this undertaking from which would have flowed the most signal advantages to our county during a long period, was the topic of frequent lamentations." The words were well chosen. Had the Blackstone Canal been opened at the turn of the century, it would have had forty years of useful operation. Beyond all doubt, the industrial development of the country through which it passed would have been much more rapid.

John Brown's canal plan failed, but the idea survived, though dormant, for a quarter of a century, until the early years of the 1820's. He had died in the meanwhile but another generation was now ready to take up his project. Business expansion demanded it. Meetings were held in Providence and Worcester, and in the valley towns, and in the spring of 1822 a committee of investigation was appointed, and a survey completed. Acts of incorporation were passed in both states, and two companies were organized, which subsequently were merged as the Blackstone Canal Company. Three commissioners were appointed from each State—Edward Carrington, Moses B. Ives and Stephen Smith of Rhode Island and John Lincoln, Sylvanus Holbrook and John Davis of Massachusetts.

Rhode Island had a particularly deep interest in the canal, as was indicated by the generous subscriptions of her people, who furnished $500,000 of the $750,000 which it cost to construct and equip it. Providence had large commercial advantages to gain, and great benefits were in prospect for the mill-owners on the river within the State. Everything considered, however, Worcester County, with its quarter of a million dollars, contributed its fair share.

Building the Blackstone Canal—The Blackstone Canal was forty-five miles long, and its ascent from sea level to Worcester more than 450 feet. Sixty-two locks were required, all of which were built of hammered stone and the average cost was $4,600. There was a vast amount of expensive construction of culverts, aqueducts, and bridges, which last had to be of the high arched type to give overhead room for the passing boats. There were dams to be built, as the levels of various ponds on tributary streams were raised to provide ample storage of flood water for use in times of low water in the river itself. Then there was the biggest task of all, the digging of the ditch itself. One cannot wonder that four years and more elapsed from the time the first earth was removed to the day the canal was open to navigation from end to end.

The long ditch and all its engineering works followed specifications laid down by Holmes Hutchinson, after a survey which he conducted for the committee of investigation under the supervision of Benjamin Wright, chief engineer of the middle section of the Erie Canal. In his report he stated: "I find the ground remarkably favorable; soil easy to excavate; very little solid rock to be removed; aqueducts not numerous or expensive. On viewing the country intended to be benefited by the canal, taking into consideration the probable future growth and increase of trade, I have come to the conclusion that a canal thirty-two feet wide at the top and eighteen at the bottom and a depth of water of three and one-half feet would be the proper size to be built. Locks seventy feet between gates and ten feet wide would be sufficiently large for trade intended, bearing in mind a proper economy in the use of water and erection of locks."

The engineer's survey was by no means superficial. He made a careful calculation of rainfall and evaporation, and a study of the means for conserving the spring floods for summer use, all with a view to maintaining a uniform flow of the river "that the drain for lockage might not injure the great hydraulic works erected on the Blackstone and her branches"; that Long Pond in Worcester (Lake Quinsigamond), Ramshorn Pond in Millbury, and Manchaug and Bad Luck Ponds in Douglas, and others be used as reservoirs; and that the river itself in some places be used for navigation. On April 24, 1829, the canal was open for its full length. It was found that the spring freshets had caused no serious effects upon embankments or locks. Business increased rapidly, and there was much enthusiasm. Men talked of extending the canal to Fitchburg. It seemed that a new era had arrived. And indeed it had. Worcester County no longer had to depend exclusively on overland freight carriers.

Maiden Voyage of the "Lady Carrington"—The long voyage to Worcester was by no means the maiden trip of the *Lady Carrington.* She had been completed and launched in the spring, and the lower reaches of the

canal were completed, and canal boat excursions to Scott's Pond, six miles up the river, became fashionable. Evidently she was intended as a canal boat de luxe, on which passengers might enjoy every comfort. She was of maximum size. In fact, if the dimensions as given are accurate, she must have fitted over tightly in a lock ten feet wide, for her width was nine and one-half feet. Her maiden trip on July 1 is described in the *Rhode Island American* as follows:

"At about 10 A. M., the *Lady Carrington* started from the front dock above tidewater opposite the jail on Canal Street. A salute of artillery announced her departure, seconded by cheers of those on board and the shouts of hundreds of spectators who crowded the banks and surrounding eminences to witness this novel spectacle. The boat is of the largest size that can be admitted into the locks, being about 70 ft. long, 9½ ft. wide, and as high as will admit a safe passage under the bridges crossing the canal. She is covered on top, having below a cabin nearly the whole extent of the boat conveniently and neatly arranged. Her draft when filled with passengers does not exceed eight or nine inches. Among the passengers were his Excellency the Governor, two of Rhode Island's commissioners and fifty citizens. The boat was drawn up the canal by a tow line attached to two horses that traveled with rapidity on straight levels of which there are very beautiful ones before you come to the Blackstone River. She might be conveyed with ease at the rate of four or five miles per hour. Between tide water and Albion factory nine granite locks of most substantial masonry were passed. Just before entering Scott's Pond, a beautiful basin of deep water, there are three continuous locks by which you ascend an elevation of 24 ft. The novelty of ascending and descending is peculiarly gratifying to those who never before witnessed the operation.

"The boat glides into a solid iron box, so to speak, in which she is enclosed by the shutting of folding gates. The water is then admitted through wickets in the upper gates, and the boat is rapidly raised to the level she is to ascend. The upper gates are then opened and she passes on. In descending the lock is filled and the boat glides in on a level and the upper gates are closed and the water drawn from the lower gates until the water is depressed to the level below. This operation occupied in passing up about four minutes, and in descending about three minutes. The average height of the locks is about 10 feet. There are men hired for lock-tenders whose duty it is, for the boats ascending, to see the lower gates open, and after the boat glides into the lock, to close the lower gates, and draw the water from the upper level until the lock is full, and then open the upper gates and let the boat pass out on the level; and when boats are descending the locks are to be filled and the upper gates opened so the boat will glide in."

July 4 found the *Queen of the Fleet* carrying excursions to Scott's Pond "amid great rejoicings." It became a common custom to use these boats for parties. The Valley Quakers chartered one at times to take them to the meetings at the Friends' Meeting House at North Uxbridge, and return them in time to attend the quarterly meeting at Newport. Special boats with special rates carried those who attended Brown University commencements, which were then held in the autumn.

The story of the picnic of the Congregational Society of Uxbridge in which it joined with the society of Waterford, over the Rhode Island line, is still told down the valley. The Uxbridge people, men, women and children, chartered a canal boat for the occasion. It was festooned with evergreens, and with bannerettes which were known as Gideon's Lamps; why, no one knows today. A spur of the canal entered the town and up this the boat came, and everyone went aboard. The progress to the picnic place was slow, and at times members of the party stepped ashore and walked. Only once was peril encountered, when the boat rounded the sharp turn from the spur into the main channel, when she nearly upset.

One thing the voyage accomplished. It left everyone with a keen and eager hunger. The Uxbridge people, being guests, had supposed the Waterford folk would provide the lunch. They were in error. Nor did the hosts offer to share what they had brought for themselves. So William Capron of Uxbridge endeared himself to all by buying a barrel of crackers and an adequate supply of cheese and everybody had a plenty.

The canal fleet was adequately large. The *Lady Carrington* was soon followed, in the same year, by the *John Brown, Rhode Island, Worcester, Providence, Mendon, Massachusetts* and *John Capron,* and from time to time others were added. Their average capacity of freight is said to have been about thirty tons.

Here are typical items of "ship news" which appeared in the Worcester newspapers of the day:

Departed—Canal-boat *Providence,* Captain Dobson, with 10,000 lbs. lead pipe from T. & J. Sutton, machinery from William Hovey, and iron castings from Sumner Smith.

Departed—boat *Massachusetts* for Providence with 26 casks of beer and 11 hogsheads from Trumbull & Ward.

Arrived—Canal-boat *Worcester,* Captain Green from Providence, with 3457 lbs. of iron for Washburn & Goddard, 4169 lbs. of lead to J. & T. Sutton, 13 bales of cotton, 3 tons of logwood and one ton of copperas for William Buffum, Jr.

The proprietors of the canal did not approve of speeding. One of the rules limited the velocity of a canal boat to four miles an hour, the purpose

being to discourage racing. Another rule restricted the hours of navigation from one hour before sunrise to one hour after sunset. Even at that slow rate of progress and with restrictions against night travel the boats made the trip between Worcester and Providence in two days. Little time was wasted in the locks, for it took but a few minutes to make the passage. Sometimes a boat negotiated the long line of nine locks in Millbury in one hour.

The fare was cheap—one dollar between the terminal towns, and proportionately for lesser distances. The packet boats were comfortable for an overnight passage, it is recorded. Or the travelers might go ashore and patronize an inn. But the number of passengers was never large. The cry of "Low Bridge!" was heard as the landlubber was warned of approaching danger to his head.

But the canal was very seriously felt by the overland freight carriers. The road between Worcester and Providence had left little custom for them.

Massachusetts was canal-minded in 1825. The artificially constructed inland waterway had demonstrated its usefulness in the carrying of bulky freight, which constituted by far the greater part of the young nation's commerce. The Erie Canal was completed and began operation in that year, and no one doubted that it would be a great commercial success. It had also taught the lesson that apparently unsurmountable obstacles could be overcome by sound engineering.

The Erie Canal suggested an alluring thought, a connection eastward with the port of Boston. It was the old project of the Massachusetts Canal to the Connecticut River, but on a far more ambitious scale. It would be possible for a canal boat to start at Boston and end its voyage at the Great Lakes; and on its return journey to carry a cargo of the products of the great Central West.

On February 25, 1825, practically simultaneously with the passage of the Blackstone Canal Act, the Legislature voted to appoint a commission "to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston Harbor to the Connecticut River and of extending same to some point on the Hudson in the State of New York in the vicinity of the junction of the Erie Canal with the river."

Two routes were under consideration, the southern through Worcester, the northern, known as the Millers Falls route, through Fitchburg. A choice was definitely made in January, 1826, when Governor Levi Lincoln announced that the northern route was beyond comparison the more practical and advantageous, and strongly urged the construction of the canal by the Commonwealth.

The route was practically that of the present main line of the Fitchburg Railroad, beginning at the Charles River, through Cambridge, Watertown,

BOSTON TURNPIKE AND LAKE QUINSIGAMOND BRIDGE, ANCIENT HIGHWAY

Built in 1807 and approached by pontoon bridge, now a four-lane concrete motor road, connecting by air-line Worcester and Boston

Photo by Paul W. Savage

Waltham, Weston, Lincoln, Concord, Sudbury, Acton, Boxboro, Littleton, Groton, Shirley, and, in Worcester County, Leominster, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Westminster, Ashburnham, Winchendon, Royalston, and Athol, and in Franklin County from Orange to Greenfield. Beyond that town, the project was practical from an engineering standpoint, except that it involved the boring of a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain. Four hundred locks would be required. The high point was Mud Pond in Ashburnham, 899 feet above the Connecticut River and 1,065 feet above sea level, in other words the eastern terminus.

But before any work had been done, the State of Massachusetts experienced a bit of rare good fortune in the form of Bunker Hill Monument. A railroad had been built, one of the first in the country, to haul the stone from the Neponset River to the monument site. Its efficiency was apparent to all. The future of inland transportation was plainly written. Had Massachusetts undertaken to defray the cost of a canal of this magnitude through a country so beset with obstacles, the cost would have been well-nigh ruinous.

The problem was very different from that of the Erie Canal. It was not one of distance; the Erie Canal is 387 miles long, while the route proposed for the Massachusetts Canal was hardly half that distance. But it involved the tremendous lift of nearly a thousand feet. Finally, it must penetrate Hoosac Mountain, as the railroad did years later. The engineers of 1825 estimated the cost of boring this huge hole a distance of four and a half miles through solid rock at $1,500,000. It cost the railroad $15,000,000 for an infinitely more simple tunnel.

The canal tunnel would have required a channel and towpath, and a sufficient overhead room, which would total a cross-section of extraordinary size, as tunnels are rated. The drilling would have been done by hand; a century ago there were no power drills operated by steam, compressed air or electricity. Nor were there high explosives. And, most important obstacle of all, perhaps, there was no such thing as ventilating apparatus. Men could not have worked at a distance from the openings, the atmosphere would have become so vitiated for lack of replenishment, and so poisonous after blasting. Even had the tunnel been completed, it is doubtful if a horse could have labored to haul a canal boat in air so dead and humid. However, it does not matter what might have been. The Bunker Hill Railway put a quick check upon the enterprise.

The Coming of the Railroads—The railroad era in Worcester County began with the opening of the Boston & Worcester Railroad in 1835. The same year saw the first train pass over the Boston and Lowell Railroad.

These were the New England pioneers in steam transport, excepting for the little "experiment" railroad, as it was called, which hauled the stone for Bunker Hill Monument from the Neponset River, whither it was carried by water from the Quincy quarry. The first American railway was the Baltimore and Ohio, but in the beginning its motive power was horses, which traveled between the tracks after the fashion of the horse-cars of the cities in a later day. A newspaper account printed in 1830 tells us: "We have frequent accounts of the great rage for riding on the Baltimore Railroad, and the facilities at present offered the travelers for that purpose," and again on September 6, 1831: "We learn that transportation of passengers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad will hereafter be by locomotive steam engine; the cars will now be conveyed by engine just constructed, fully capable of transporting twenty tons, including weight of the cars and one hundred and fifty passengers."

History repeated itself in the protest of the ignorant against the idea of a railroad. The same kind of talk was heard as that of two centuries previous, when the stagecoach came into being in England. It looks as if the stagecoach interests conducted an unorganized propaganda against what they saw would be the end of, or at any rate a great detriment to, their business. There were other people who maintained that canal boats were as fast as any railroad engine could go, and that a gale of wind could stop a train in its tracks. One sage argued that no engine could go in the night time, because scripturally—though hardly pertinently—"The night-time is a period when no man can work." A caustic critic set forth: "We are told that we are to gallop at the speed of twelve miles an hour, with the aid of the devil, sitting as postillion in the forehouse, and an honorable member sitting behind him to stir up the fire and keep it at full speed. I will show you they cannot go six; I may be able to show that we can keep up with them by the canal. Thus, sir, I prove that locomotive engines cannot move more than four and one-fourth miles per hour, and I will show the whole scheme to be bottomed on deception and fallacy."

More practical souls, who knew no better, believed the farmers would be ruined. Horses would have to be killed, because they would be useless, and therefore there would be no market for oats or hay; and the hens would refuse to lay because of the infernal noise.

In Worcester the project of a railroad connecting the town with Boston met with no financial enthusiasm. Many well-to-do people declined positively to invest in the stock of the company. They had lost the money they had put into the Boston and Worcester Turnpike, and more in the Blackstone Canal, and did not propose to be caught again. They had not long to live before they deeply regretted their decision, for the road was a money-maker from

the first day of its operation. As it was, not more than $5,000 of Worcester money went into the purchase of railroad stock. But investors elsewhere were glad to buy the securities.

The company was chartered in 1831, and the work of construction proceeded rapidly. The engineers who laid out the route were most capable men. Lake Quinsigamond was avoided by skirting its southern extremity, and the lofty range of hills to the east of Worcester was penetrated through a convenient gap in Grafton. To this day no improvement in route, excepting in trivial detail, has ever been brought forward as a practical alternative.

In 1834 trains were running out of Boston as far as Westboro. The Fourth of July, 1835, was celebrated in Worcester by the arrival of the first trainload of passengers. The story of that train is related in the chapter devoted to the Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin.

Lincoln, in 1836, wrote of the new railroad: "The road, extending forty-four miles eastward is laid with a single track of edge rails on cast iron chairs resting on wooden sleepers, bedded in trench filled with stone. The cost of construction has been $1,500,000, including land, labor, cars, engines and buildings. Passenger cars go in each direction, three times daily during the warm weather, and twice in the cold season, except on Sundays. The time is from two and a half to three hours, including stops at ten places. The fare has been $1.50, but in the autumn of 1836 was raised to $2. The freight of merchandise from Boston to Worcester, by the ton is $3.50; from Worcester to Boston $3. A branch railroad is soon to be laid to Millbury."

The railroad was of the crudest description, of course. It could not have been otherwise. Steam locomotion was in its swaddling clothes. Everything considered, wonders had been accomplished. Only a few years had elapsed since the first locomotive had demonstrated that a vehicle could be propelled by steam power. Looking backward it seems a great mechanical and engineering feat, that the Boston and Worcester railroad was able even to approach regular schedule time on a line forty-four miles long. And that the sturdy little engine "Meteor" hauled the first long passenger train from Boston to Worcester, up a grade that totalled more than four hundred and fifty feet of sheer rise, in three hours, is almost beyond belief. Yet that was what she did. The chance of mishap, however, was always present, and there were many accidents.

The locomotive was of the simplest construction, with boiler and engine carried on a wooden platform which was mounted on a single four-wheel truck. Its fuel was wood, and it was not until some time later that the stack was equipped with spark arresters. It simply vomited live coals, which at times made things lively for the passengers in the coaches, and in dry weather

set fire to woodland and grassland. There was trouble also with escaping live steam, which on occasions reached travelers, with painful consequences.

The cars were little more than stagecoach bodies, each mounted on a single truck. Their brakes were violent of action, and produced a series of shocks which were compared to the effects of a collision. Nor was it a difficult matter to derail or overturn a car. One old habitue of the stagecoach put it: "You got upset in a coach—and there you were! You get upset in a rail-car —and, damme, where are you?"

Another always present source of trouble, and sometimes of serious accidents, was the "snakes' heads." The rails were nothing more than heavy strap iron fastened to stout timbers carried on ties, which were ballasted in broken stone. They were held down by spikes driven into the wood, and these were worked loose by the hammering of car-wheels, which were of cast iron and probably not nearly absolutely round; and by the expansion of the metal in summer and its contraction in winter. When a spike lost its grip, the end of the rail curved up, rearing its end like the head of a snake about to strike. Sometimes the "snake's head" caused derailment, with more or less serious consequences. Sometimes it ripped along through the coach floor, and if a passenger were so unfortunate as to be in its course, there was injury, which in some cases was severe and even fatal. A few roads carried their rails pinned down on a buried "continuous stone wall," but the unyielding foundation caused such a jarring to passengers as to make travel well-nigh intolerable, and stone was replaced with wood.

In spite of disadvantages, which we of today realize far more clearly than did those who traveled in the 1830's, the Boston & Worcester Railroad started right in to a very profitable business. In the six months from July 1 to December 30, 1835, receipts from passenger traffic were $72,912.12 and from freight $18,828.21, and the net income was $51,272.67. The whole number of passengers carried was 72,558, an average of 460 a day, and of these, 37,700 traveled the full distance between Worcester and Boston. Trains made 757 trips in the average time between the terminal towns of two hours and fifty minutes—which was not so slow and undependable, after all; and 533 trips were made with freight cars.

In the following year receipts from passengers were $118,233.44 and from freight $59,836.93, and the net income was $17,807.37. In that year 2,807 passengers were carried to and from Southboro and Westboro, 2,771 to and from Grafton, and 11,161 to and from Worcester.

In considering Worcester, a town of some 4,500 inhabitants, as a terminus, the number of its stores tabulated by Lincoln is interesting, as follows: Groceries, sixteen; dry goods, sixteen; crockery, two; hardware, three; iron, one; wool, three; flour and grain, four; coal, two; provisions, four; fruit and confectionery, six; drugs and medicines, four; books and stationery, three;

music and umbrellas, one; hats and furs, five; shoes and leather, six; dresses and millinery, five; jewelry and watches, four; cabinet furniture, two; carpet warehouses, two; and drapers' and tailors' shops, five. The town had four banks, three insurance offices, an insurance agency, and four printing offices.

Western Railroad Built—When it was suggested from time to time that the Boston and Worcester Railroad be extended to Albany, much derisive comment was aroused. Captain Basil Hall, an English engineer, in his *Travels in North America,* describes a stage ride to Albany taken in 1829, and after telling of the ravines and gorges and high, rocky hills, remarks: "These Yankees talk of constructing a railroad over this route; as a practical engineer I pronounce it simply impossible."

The *Boston Courier* had expressed a similar opinion two years earlier in an editorial, which said: "Alcibiades, or some other great man of antiquity, it is said, cut off his dog's tail that the *quidnuncs* might not become extinct from want of excitement. Some such notion, no doubt, moved one or two of our national and experimental philosophers to get up the project of a railroad from Boston to Albany, a project, which every one knows, who knows the simplest rules of arithmetic, to be impracticable, but at an expense little less than the market value of the whole territory of Massachusetts, and which, if practical would be as useless as a railroad from Boston to the moon."

Even before the Boston and Worcester and Boston and Lowell Railroads had proved that the steam railway was not only an essential means of communication and transport but a money-making investment, the idea of a railroad extending west from the terminus of the Boston and Worcester at Worcester, to Springfield and on to Albany on the Hudson, had taken a strong hold upon the imagination of wealthy interests in Boston. Engineers had pronounced the difficulties to be encountered in the high country of western Massachusetts by no means insurmountable.

As a result of this deep interest, a charter was granted to the Western Railroad Company, February 15, 1833, with the right to construct the line to the western boundary of Springfield, and thence to the western boundary of the State. A mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 7, 1835, to take measures to insure subscriptions to the capital stock of $2,000,000. This amount was quickly disposed of, and the following winter the Legislature authorized the Commonwealth to become a subscriber for an additional $1,000,000. The capital stock thus became $3,000,000.

There was little delay in beginning construction of the line to Springfield. From an engineering point of view the undertaking was far more ambitious than that of the Boston and Worcester. The grade is a heavy one. The rise from Worcester to the height of land at Charlton, a distance of some ten

miles, is over 400 feet. It was a valuable experience as a preliminary to the still more formidable grades of the route from Springfield to the New York line.

Trains commenced their regular trips between Worcester and Springfield October 1, 1839, the fifty-five miles being covered in about three hours, which was really excellent time. On October 3 a great public dinner was given in Springfield to commemorate the event, which was of utmost importance to that Connecticut River town, as well as the forerunner of through traffic to the West.

The principal address was given by Edward Everett, who had been deeply concerned in the project from its beginning. In the course of his remarks he said: "Let us contemplate the entire railroad, with its cars and engines, as one vast machine. What a portent of art! Its fixed portion one hundred miles long; its movable portion flying across the State like a weaver's shuttle. By the seaside in the morning, here at noon; and back in the compass of an autumnal day! And the power which puts all in motion, most wondrous, a few buckets of water! Did we live in a poetic age, we have now reached the region where the genius of steam communication would be personified and embodied. Here we should be taught to behold him a titanic colossus of iron and of brass, instinct with elemental life and power, with a glowing furnace for the lungs, and streams of fire and smoke for the breath of his nostrils. With one hand he collects the furs of the Arctic circle, with the other he smites the forests of western Pennsylvania. He plants his right foot before the source of the Missouri and his left on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and gathers in his bosom the overflowing abundance of the fairest and richest valley on which the circling sun looks down."

Three years later, in 1842, the line was completed through to Albany, the section in the State of New York being constructed by the Albany and West Stockbridge Railroad, which had been chartered in 1836. The Boston and Worcester, the Western and the Albany & West Stockbridge were brought together in a single corporation, under the name of the Boston & Albany Railroad, and has been operated for many years as the Boston & Albany Division of the New York Central system.

Quick transport had been provided from Worcester County to the Hudson River. But did a man wish to journey farther westward, the way was long and tedious. Leaving Worcester in the morning he would be in Albany by night. But the next eight days must be spent on a packet boat on the Erie Canal, at $5 a day for transportation and board, and the rest of the distance from Buffalo made by water on the Great Lakes. Chicago was twenty-one days from Worcester. Today the commonplace time is 24 hours. Or, in that same time, by air, one may travel from coast to coast.

The Norwich and Providence Railroads—The valleys of the Quinebaug River, as it is called in Worcester County, which becomes the Thames in Connecticut, and of the Blackstone River lent themselves naturally as avenues for railroad building, and thus to establishing Worcester as a railroad center. The first to be utilized for the purpose was the Quinnebaug, which was made the route of the Norwich & Worcester Railroad. The Connecticut company was chartered in 1832 and the Massachusetts company in the following years. But the road did not begin transportation until 1840. It immediately became an important passenger line, especially in conjunction with the Sound steamers which plied between Norwich and New York. The two corporations were consolidated under the same name while the work of construction was still under way.

Then came the Providence and Worcester Railroad, chartered in 1844 and opened in 1847. This, too, quickly became an important line, connecting Worcester with tidewater at Providence, where also connection was made with New York boats.

South County Railroads—While the Providence & Worcester and Norwich & Worcester Railroads served a large part of the south county, including most of the manufacturing villages, several industrial centers were still without railroad facilities. Most important of these was Southbridge. One early attempt to secure steam communication failed. Soon after the completion of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, a branch line was built to Millbury. In 1851 the Millbury & Southbridge Railroad Company was chartered, and two years later a location for the proposed line was filed, from Millbury and across Auburn and Oxford to French River, and thence to Webster and Southbridge. But there was disagreement, and nothing came of the plan.

The history of the railroad which now enters Southbridge began in 1846, when the Walpole Railroad was chartered, running from the Dedham Branch line to Walpole. This was followed by the chartering of the Norfolk Railroad which extended the line to Blackstone. Finally the Blackstone & Southbridge Railroad Company, was chartered in 1849, and the following year the three companies were consolidated as the Midland Railroad Company, which extended the road to Boston. But there were many delays, and it was not until 1866 that the first train entered Southbridge. Several years of receiverships followed, but in 1873 the charter passed to the New England Railroad, and the line was absorbed by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad soon after it was incorporated in 1907.

The project has been afoot for many years to build a line connecting Southbridge with the Boston & Albany at Palmer. It was first proposed in

1863. In 1872 the town of Southbridge voted to subscribe a large sum of money to the building of the Southbridge and Palmer Railroad. But the Massachusetts railroad commissioners refused the necessary permission. Again, in 1892, the effort was made by the chartering of the Southbridge, Sturbridge & Brookfield Railroad Company, but nothing had been done to consummate the plan when, in 1912, a new line to be known as the Southern New England Railroad was laid out, connecting the port of Providence with the Vermont Central Railroad at Palmer, which would make it an integral part of the Grand Trunk System. Work was begun on this railroad, and a large sum of money was expended. But troubles of the Grand Trunk caused a cessation of work, which has never been resumed.

The Milford Branch of the Boston & Albany Railroad, connecting that thriving town with the main line at Framingham Junction, was opened for business in July, 1848. For years it served not only Milford, but the people of a large contiguous territory, who reached the Milford terminal by stage or private vehicle, and proceeded on by rail to Boston or Worcester or other destination. The original plan was to continue this line to Woonsocket, Rhode Island, but the influence of the Norfolk Railroad intervened to prevent it. Another railroad serving Milford is that built as the Milford & Woonsocket Branch, connecting with the Air Line at Bellingham, which was opened in 1868, and yet another the Hopkinton Railroad, running from Ashland on the Boston & Albany to Milford, which was opened in 1872. The two latter lines were taken into the New York, New Haven & Hartford system, and are now used exclusively for freight. Milford was formerly convenienced by an electrified line, the special purpose of which was to give railroad facilities to Hopedale, Upton, and West Upton, and running to North Grafton on the Boston & Albany. But this road has been long abandoned for passenger traffic but is used for freight purposes.

Railroads North from Worcester—As to the routes north from Worcester, the Worcester and Nashua, afterward the Worcester, Nashua and Rochester, began running trains in December, 1848. Fitchburg enterprise was responsible for the building of the Fitchburg and Worcester railroad, whose line connected Fitchburg with Sterling Junction on the Worcester & Nashua, which latter road operated the trains between the Junction and Worcester. Finally came the Boston, Barre & Gardner Railroad, which opened its line from Worcester to Gardner in 1871 and to Winchendon in 1874. This road was originally chartered in 1847 as the Barre and Worcester Railroad, Barre at the time being an important town. In 1847 it changed its corporate name to the Boston, Barre & Gardner, though why this combination of names was chosen has never been satisfactorily explained, for the

line does not touch Barre and is many miles from Boston. One must add to the list of Worcester steam railroads the Worcester and Shrewsbury, a narrow gauge road only two miles long, operating between Washington Square in Worcester city and Lake Quinsigamond.

As time went on all these railroads were absorbed in larger system. In 1869 the Norwich and Worcester passed to the ownership of the New York and New England Railroad, which in turn was absorbed into the New York, New Haven and Hartford system, as was also the Providence & Worcester. The Worcester & Nashua, after the completion of its extension as the Nashua and Rochester Railroad, became a part of the direct route to Bar Harbor and later to the principal pleasure resorts of New Hampshire and Maine, and eventually became the Worcester, Nashua and Portland Division of the Boston & Maine system. The Fitchburg & Worcester went to the Old Colony Railroad and through it finally to the New York, New Haven & Hartford. The Boston, Barre & Gardner was acquired by the Fitchburg Railroad, and with it was absorbed into the Boston & Maine. The little Worcester & Shrewsbury, more commonly known as the "Dummy railroad," was made part of Worcester's trolley system.

Building of the North County Railroads—Strange as it may seem, a long section of the Fitchburg Division as we know it today, was first contemplated as early as 1829, when not one steam railroad was operating in America, excepting at Bunker Hill. The *Columbia Centinel,* printed in Boston, in its issue of July 4, 1829, contained a communication signed "Franklin" in which it was stated that "a number of respectable citizens of the Commonwealth propose to unite with the various towns to construct a railroad from Boston to Brattleboro, Vermont, through Watertown, Waltham, Weston, Sudbury, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Leominster, Fitchburg, Westminster and Gardner, and such other towns as might be included in the line, and it was expected that landowners along the route would give land five rods wide through which it might pass." But no north county railroad was built until the 1840's.

Most of the credit of building the original Fitchburg railroad connecting the northern Worcester County town with Boston, belongs to Alvah Crocker of Fitchburg, first of the line of Crockers whose names have been associated for generations with the paper manufacturing business and the upbuilding of Fitchburg. It was his tireless energy which overcame all obstacles and put the company on a sound financial basis, and enabled it to be said that during the construction of the road it "never borrowed a dollar, never gave a note, nor had a lawsuit, and met with no accident of any account." Nor did it receive the State aid which was given to some other Massachusetts railroad projects, notably the Western Railroad, as already related.

The experience of the earlier railroads promised money-making success. The Boston & Worcester was paying seven per cent. dividends, the Boston and Lowell five per cent., the Boston and Providence seven per cent. The belief proved to be justified, for the Fitchburg Railroad's dividend paid the first year was at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, in the next two years it was ten per cent., and for years afterwards the shareholders received from eight to ten per cent. on their stock.

The project came to a head in 1842, at a convention held at Waltham at which the various towns were represented by delegates, and at which Alvah Crocker was a dominant figure. Of particular interest, in indicating the trend of thought as to the future development of railroads in New England, are resolutions passed at this meeting, as follows: "Resolved, That the success which has hitherto crowned railroad enterprise in every section of the Commonwealth now sheds its beacon light upon us, and stimulates us to prompt and efficient action to obtain the same glorious results for ourselves that others now enjoy.

"That while we regard with the highest satisfaction the increasing wealth and prosperity incident upon the establishment of our great railroad thoroughfares in New England, both to our own city of Boston and those sections of country through which they pass, while our lively sympathies and willing aid have been afforded toward the completion of those noble works, common justice would seem to indicate that others, who now enjoy such additional facilities should also accord to us their sympathy and aid.

"That while we are determined (if a charter be obtained) to build a road inferior to none in durability and care in the construction, an imperious sense of duty demands a rigid economy; and in consequence of the extreme feasibility of the route, the public have a right to ask and expect a moderate tariff, not only for passengers and tonnage, but also for branch roads which may enter upon our track.

"That while the Western Railroad must ever be the great outlet to the fertile and almost inexhaustless west; while the Lowell and Concord road now commands and must ever command an immense business on the east side of the Monadnock, Kearsarge and Franconia Ridge, the god of nature has marked and established, by metes and bounds not to be misunderstood, a direct river route, not to Keene and Brattleboro, but following the upper Connecticut and other streams to Whitehall and Montreal.

"That this route almost precisely intermediate between the Lowell and Worcester roads, is the consummation of the routes essentially necessary for the northern country and Boston—the direct route, when finished, for the travel from our Atlantic steamers to Montreal; and that this first section to Fitchburg is a germ which will ultimate in such fruition."

These enterprising men could not have foreseen that the railroad they were to build would be the beginning of one of the great arteries of transport between commercial and industrial centers of Massachusetts and the great West, in competition with the Western Railroad and the trunk line which grew out of it.

The committee went immediately to work, with Mr. Crocker as the leading spirit. He made scores of speeches in the various interested towns. With Samuel Willis of Fitchburg and David Wilder of Leominster he was a member of the first board of directors, and was the company's first president. In 1842 he went to England to purchase rails. The road was open to Acton in December, 1843, to Concord, Massachusetts, in June, 1844, and to Fitchburg March 5, 1845. We find in the advertising columns of the *Fitchburg Sentinel* that "Up trains leave Charlestown at 7 A. M., 1-½ and 5 P. M. Down trains leave Fitchburg 6-½ and 10 A. M. and 5 P. M. A freight train will run both ways over the road daily."

The Bunker Hill *Aurora* of March 8 tells of the initial trip: "The train bearing the directors and some of the stockholders left Charlestown at 7 A. M., and received demonstrations of welcome at various points along the route, especially at Leominster, where there was a general turnout of the people, with flags and banners waving, and a welcoming salute of artillery. At Fitchburg, several hundred people were found, and cheers on cheers welcomed the new visitors. The Fitchburg band had been engaged for the occasion, and they added their fine music to the general joy which the event inspired."

The article continues: "We have so far refrained from mentioning the efforts and labor of Alvah Crocker, Esquire, of Fitchburg, the well-known and indefatigable president of the company,—the sole projector and father of the Fitchburg railroad. In the commencement of the great enterprise Mr. Crocker stood alone; and amid every vicissitude and every species of discouragement, he pressed forward with indomitable zeal in his favorite project. Nothing could check his enterprise and no combination of circumstances cool his zeal. The opposition of interested parties, the lukewarmness of friends and the chilling taunts of some, only had the effect to draw out his energies in the labor of his heart; and the time has now come when he can look with delight and satisfaction upon the completion, so far, of his great enterprise. The most triumphant success in the undertaking is now apparent; and the necessity for the road, and the business and travel which he foresaw justified and demanded it, are now made manifest and are now securing to the stockholders the result of a wise and judicious investment of their money."

Before the Fitchburg Railroad was completed steps had been taken for the organization of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, which was to be the western extension of the line. Again Mr. Crocker was the controlling influence and became president of the company. Work was commenced in September, 1845, and the road was completed to Baldwinsville, in Templeton, September, 1847; to Athol in January, 1848; and to Brattleboro in February, 1849. This road was not a financial success, but it had a great destiny as a link of the Hoosac Tunnel line. In 1874 it was consolidated with the Fitchburg Railroad, and ultimately became part of the present Boston & Maine system.

The Cheshire Railroad connecting Fitchburg with Bellows Falls, Vermont, making a junction with the Vermont & Massachusetts at South Ashburnham, was completed to Keene, New Hampshire, in 1848, and to Bellows Falls in the following year.

A line which has rendered an indispensable service to a series of towns across Worcester County is the Massachusetts Central Railroad, now a division of the Boston and Maine, connecting Boston with Northampton on the Connecticut River, which commenced operating in 1887. It passes through Harvard, Lancaster, Clinton, Sterling, Jefferson in Holden, Rutland, Barre and Hardwick. The Ware River Branch of the Boston and Albany likewise provides communication for villages in Hardwick and Barre.

Drastic Changes in Railroad Operation—A semi-revolutionary change has taken place in the county railroads of recent years, as it has in railroads all over the United States. Their patronage, both passenger and freight, has been materially curtailed by traffic over the highways, which, in their present state of near perfection, offer quick passage by private automobile, motor-bus and motor-truck for freight. The result has been the abandonment or partial abandonment of passenger service on some of the lesser lines, and a curtailment of train service on the main lines, especially between local points. At the same time, highway competition has brought about a marked improvement in railroad freight service, in the effort to offset the inroads made by the motor freight transportation companies. There is irony in the situation. Before the days of the railroads the highways were often congested by long lines of freight wagons. Steam drove them from the road. Now the highways are congested with endless lines of motor trucks carrying freight which the railroads had considered exclusively their own.

The Coming and Passing of the Trolleys—The golden era of the Worcester County trolleys opened in the 1890's. One after another lines were built, radiating out from the important centers of population, until finally the county was a veritable network of street railway tracks. Pro-

moters prospered. Capital was quick to enter what seemed to be most profitable field of investment. At first the companies sought only the immediate suburbs of the cities and large towns.

There followed the period of interurban building. Some lines of the highest class were established, notable among them that connecting Worcester with Leominster and Fitchburg; the Worcester and Southbridge, which gave Worcester fast communication with Southbridge and Webster, and, most ambitious of all, the Boston and Worcester, which ran high speed cars between the two terminal cities and were very liberally patronized. In the aggregate they inflicted large damage to the passenger patronage of the railroads, but in express and freight their competition was hardly felt, it was so relatively small.

But the advent of the automobile meant the going of the trolley. The private car encroached rapidly upon the patronage of the street railways. Even before the motor-bus had developed into a comfortable and dependable, as well as a fast mode of public conveyance, the abandonment of the trolley lines had begun. And presently, with bus service organized on a schedule basis, every interurban road was out of existence, its tracks taken up and its poles and wires removed, and every city and town, with the exception of the congested areas of Worcester, was trackless.

Street car service in the county was first established in Worcester, when the Worcester Horse Railway Company began running horsecars through Lincoln Street from Harrington Avenue, Lincoln Square and Main Street to New Worcester, better known nowadays as Webster Square; in Front Street and Grafton Street, from Main Street to the Union Station, and in Pleasant Street to West Street. The project was a failure and was abandoned, to be revived in 1869 under new ownership. In 1885 the Citizens Street Railway Company, a rival, laid tracks in various other streets which entered Main Street, and in 1887 the two corporations were consolidated as the Worcester Consolidated Street Railway Company.

The county's one other horse railway was established in Fitchburg in 1886, its line running from West Fitchburg through the heart of the city and on to the Fitchburg Park at the Lunenburg line.

Electrification began on a large scale in the early 1890's. In the central and southern county were organized and built the Worcester, Leicester and Spencer Street Railway in 1891, the Worcester and Millbury in 1892, the Worcester and Marlboro in 1897, the Worcester and Clinton and Worcester and Webster in 1898, the Worcester and Southbridge in 1902, the Worcester and Sterling to Fitchburg in 1906 and the Boston and Worcester in 1903.

Eventually, in the middle of the 1900's, all of these lines, with the exception of the Boston and Worcester, were merged into the Worcester Con-

solidated. This company was controlled for some years by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and later by the New England Investment and Security Company corporation which the railroad company dominated. Finally came a receivership and a reorganization in 1932 as the Worcester Street Railway Company.

The Leominster Street Railway Company was organized in 1901 and began operations as a trolley system in the same year. In 1902 the property was sold to the Fitchburg Street Railway Company, which today has the distinction of operating the only trolley bus line in central Massachusetts, which is the connecting link between the two northern cities. The Fitchburg and Leominster extended its system into the suburbs, including the line to Whalom Park, one of the most frequented amusement resorts in the county.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Conservation Movement in Worcester County

History has marched rapidly in the last twenty-five years in the conservation and expansion of the natural resources of Worcester County. When the century came in almost nothing had been done to renew the cut-off woodlands and to utilize waste lands and the abandoned farms which had been permitted to go wild; to insure the perpetuation and increase of the game birds and the deer; to protect the songbirds and the other birds which are useful to man; and to keep the streams and lakes well stocked with fish. But once the movement for conservation was started, it quickly acquired a momentum which has never lagged. Powerful influences came into being, standing squarely behind it, and they have never lost their deep interest.

Massachusetts established a Department of Conservation, with sub-divisions of forestry and fish and game. Under its direction State Forests have been created in various sections of the county, having a total area of more than ten thousand acres. Through the influence of the Massachusetts Forestry Association, Town Forests have been established in many of the towns. Other communities have planted woodlands on the protective areas about their reservoirs. Harvard University has developed the great Harvard Forest in the township of Petersham, conducted as an experiment station, from which has come much practical scientific knowledge as to the planting of forests and their care under conditions as they exist in the county. Great State reservations and bird sanctuaries have lent themselves easily to forest development. Country clubs and many owners of private estates have entered upon the same work with much enthusiasm. We have told elsewhere of the vast areas of new forest created about the Wachusett Reservoir and the plans of the Metropolitan District Water Commission for the conservation and creation of woodlands on the watersheds of the Ware and Swift rivers.

In the beginning the establishment of new forests had as its only purposes the more complete storage of the rainfall, and the beautifying of the landscape. But in recent years a strong utilitarian motive has entered into much of the planting. The idea is that in the rather distant future, when trees which are now saplings shall reach maturity as commercial timber, they will be cut off, not ruthlessly, but in an orderly manner, to yield a profit to their owners, whether these be private individuals or corporations, or the Commonwealth or a municipality. The Harvard Forest is showing the way in this respect, for it is a self-supporting enterprise which each year yields a profit above all expenses.

The Federal and State governments have undertaken the never ceasing task of protecting the forests against plagues of destructive insects and even more destructive blights. A generation ago the chestnuts were stricken with a disease with which science was unable to cope, and in all Worcester County, in fact in all the eastern United States, not one tree remains of the countless number which formerly contributed much to the lumber supply, and, by their nutritious nuts, to the food supply. But other plagues have been checked. Relentless warfare has kept the browntail moth and the Gypsy moth under control. The Massachusetts Department of Agriculture and town foresters, working hand and hand with the United States Biological Survey, are keeping the white pine blister rust from running amuck through the timber stands. The tree doctors and pathologists and research scientists have kept the afflictions of the forests and orchards and shade trees within bounds.

Guarding Bird Life—A great work has been done in the county in the encouragement and protection of useful bird and animal life. In fact, the movement has been much more general than that for the forests, as measured by the individual interest and activities of the people as a whole. It took a long time for the scientific naturalists to establish as popular knowledge that most birds, and some mammals, have a vitally important place in nature's scheme of maintaining a proper balance between useful and destructive wild life. Farmers, for instance, to whom the insect and seed-eating birds mean more than to any other people, were formerly, as a class, wholly indifferent to their welfare. Birds were just birds, pleasant to listen to of a June morning or at the approach of night. They ate a few worms and bugs and weed-seeds, to be sure, but were of little importance about the farm. Every hawk was dubbed a "hen-hawk" which threatened the poultry yard. Owls of every species were a threat. Every creature was either a nonentity or an enemy. Nowadays, such has been the change of mind, the progressive farmer recognizes the songbirds as among his best friends. In summer, the more nests there are about the place the better he likes it. In winter, the

presence of birds means to him the destruction of the eggs and larvae of insect pests and the dormant insects themselves.

The lesson of the birds of prey has not been learned so easily. Owls and hawks have been held in evil repute so long that it has not been easy to overcome the prejudice against them. Some of them deserve the hatred of the farmer. Others have been proved beneficent, because they kill great numbers of mice and other destructive small animals, and eat great quantities of insects. Gradually the farmers, especially those of the younger generation, have learned to distinguish between their feathered enemies and their feathered friends, and are profiting by their knowledge.

Many organizations have shared in establishing the new understanding of the birds. Among them have been the granges, the Massachusetts State College, Harvard University in connection with its Petersham Forest, the United States Biological Survey, the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts, the Bird Clubs, the Village Improvement Societies, the Audubon Society, the Natural History Societies, the Woman's Clubs, through their conservation committees; the teachers in the State Normal Schools and the Public and Private Schools; the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture, particularly through the State Ornithologist, first Edward Howe Forbush, now Dr. John B. May; the Public Libraries, through their distribution of books bearing on the birds; the Appalachian Mountain Club, the Worcester County Farm Bureau, now the Worcester County Extension Service; and private enthusiasts of whom a striking example is John E. Thayer of Lancaster, in whose wonderful museum in that town every native bird and every migrant may be studied from mounted specimens or from skins. Countless individuals have each contributed their mites in the campaign of education. The list is a long one, yet doubtless it is incomplete. We are including it to show why the seemingly impossible task was accomplished in a quarter of a century, of converting, in the public mind, the familiar bird from something pretty to see and pleasant to hear, into a living, ever-active friend of mankind and an instrument of civilization.

Looking backward, the change in the attitude of the people is really most extraordinary. The wild birds are actually pampered. Each spring nowadays, we find lively rivalry between neighbors as to who shall have the most nesting birds about the home place. Shrubbery is chosen for its berries, that the birds may have them to feed upon. Every residential neighborhood is dotted with bird boxes, most of which have their nests. Every other yard has its bird-bath. In winter the county has thousands of feeding stations, each conducted by an intelligently interested family, who keep the feeding shelves constantly supplied with the things the winter birds like and require. All

these things are done systematically, as a duty which must be fulfilled. Farmers' families are particularly keen in encouraging the winter birds, not only for the pleasure of their company, but because of the great good they do.

The county has two areas of land which are set aside for all time to be Wild Life Sanctuaries, accepted by the Commonwealth under an act of the Legislature passed in 1923, which authorized the Department of Conservation, with the consent of the Governor and Council, to accept land and money in trust for fish and game preservation and propagation. Such a gift was received in 1927 from Susan Minns of Boston, consisting of 137 acres of land in Princeton on Little Wachusett Mountain, and this was established as the Minns Wild Life Sanctuary.

The second preserve is known as the Watatic Mountain Wild Life Reservation, the gift in 1925 of the Federation of the Bird Clubs of New England, Inc. It consists of eighty-nine acres in Ashburnham, in Worcester County and eleven acres in Ashby, in Middlesex County. Eighty-five acres of the tract are covered with the finest red spruce to be found in eastern Massachusetts, and the rest is old pasture, now growing up to spruce and pine. In 1927 the Associated Committee of Wild Life Conservation gave to the State thirty-nine additional acres on which there is equally fine spruce growth, contiguous to the original Watatic forest, making a total of 128 acres in the county.

Large numbers of game birds, particularly quail and Mongolian pheasants, have been released each year in congenial territory by the Fish and Game Division of the Department of Conservation. The pheasants have thrived mightily in the county, and, quite unexpectedly, have taken kindly to human companionship. They are found in greater numbers in the immediate neighborhood of the cities and larger towns than in wilder country. In Worcester, for example, they are regular winter morning callers in the back yards of residences within the mile circle of City Hall, seeking food which is set out for them, and the crowing of the cocks is a familiar sound.

The protection of the law has been much extended in the quarter century. The Federal statutes now provide severe penalties for the killing of all but the harmful species of birds in the spring migration, and, excepting certain of the waterfowl, in the autumn pilgrimage southward. In the shooting season a bag limit is prescribed and enforced. Species which had become all but extinct have begun to take on some of their old strength of numbers. The State laws guard the small birds at all seasons, and the game birds excepting in certain periods which are left open for the hunters. And even these seasons are closed whenever a species begins to be depleted.

The Commonwealth maintains its game wardens, and on public lands forest guards keep sharp watch over the welfare of the wild life placed under

their care. For every official warden there are a hundred self-appointed guards who serve to restrict the depredations of the thoughtless or ignorant or vicious persecutor of the birds and animals. The Un-Americanized resident to whom a songbird is merely a morsel of food and therefore fair game, has been curbed by the Massachusetts law which provides severe penalty for any alien found carrying a firearm. The Massachusetts Audubon Society functions as an always vigilant defender of bird life. The law says that no plumage of any wild bird shall ever be displayed for sale. Let the feathers of an American bird appear on a woman's hat, and the society is immediately on the trail of the transgressor. Even troutflies are scanned meticulously, that the use of plumage may be discouraged, even in this small way. All this is history, for twenty-five years ago only a minute fraction of this wise protection was accorded.

Not a great many years ago a wild deer in Worcester County would have been a sensation. Today there are many hundreds of them. New laws protect them from the hunter, and, so far as humanly possible, from his dogs. They inflict damage upon the farmer's crops. They injure his orchards. The county treasurer pays the bill. Each autumn the hunters are given a few days during which they may kill the deer, under stern restrictions. This serves to keep the numbers within bounds. But there is never a great killing. The deer have grown wise. Few parts of the country are without some tract of land where no wild thing may be hunted. In these the deer seek sanctuary.

On a lower slope of Mt. Wachusett is a piece of woodland where each late autumn they establish a yard and pass each winter. When the first guns of the hunters are heard, many deer quickly abandon their warm weather haunts and seek this sanctuary. The game birds, likewise, know the woodlands and pastures where they will be safe, and each open season finds these areas with a greatly increased population of the hunted species. We mention these things to illustrate how the several phases of conservation dovetail together in their usefulness.

Renewing the Forests—The first forest conservation act which applied to Worcester County was the reforestration law of 1908, which permitted the Department of Conservation to purchase small lots of land as demonstration plantations. At first the size was limited to forty acres; afterwards it was increased to eighty acres. The first tract acquired under this law was in Ashburnham, and in the years 1908 and 1909 some twenty lots were acquired in the county and planted with trees, chiefly in Ashburnham, Spencer, Paxton, Hubbardston, Templeton and Gardner.

The first State forest law which provided for the acquisition of larger tracts of land as permanent State forests was enacted in 1914, and the first

State forest purchased under it was in Worcester County—the Otter River Forest in Winchendon and Templeton. There are now thirteen such forests —Ashburnham, 1,200 acres; Barre, 600 acres; Hubbardston, 800 acres; Leominster, 2,000 acres; Oakham, 800 acres; Otter River, 1,800 acres; Oxford, 30 acres; Petersham, 250 acres; Petersham, gift of the Massachusetts Federation of Woman's Clubs, 600 acres; Spencer, 360 acres; Sutton, 610 acres; Templeton, 1,250 acres; and Westminster, 310 acres.

The forest in Petersham, which was the gift of the Federation of Women's Clubs, deserves more than passing mention. The land lies five miles from the center of the town toward New Salem in Franklin County, and a small part of it lies in the latter township. The woodland is in a fine growing condition, due to the fact that the former owner, the Diamond Match Company, employed a forester, and only ripe timber was removed. One hundred and forty-five acres of the land has been set aside for all time as a Wild Life Sanctuary. Within this area is an old dam, which will be rebuilt to form a pond, where it is hoped that migrating aquatic birds will find refuge and native species will make their summer homes and breed.

Fire is the constant thought of the forester. The county is well guarded by a system of fire towers, from which, in time of drought, or in seasons of the year when forest fire might be looked for, fire wardens scan the country night and day. From these towers almost every acre of the shire is visible. The fire towers are in Ashburnham, on Mt. Watatic, 1,847 feet above sea level; Charlton, on Little Mugget Hill, 1,020 feet; Harvard, on Oak Hill, 620 feet; Mendon, on Wigwam Hill 540 feet; Oxford, on Rocky Hill, 810 feet; Petersham, on Prospect Hill, 1,360 feet; Princeton, on Mt. Wachusett, 2,108 feet; Westboro, on Fay Mountain, 707 feet; and West Brookfield, on Ragged Hill, 810 feet. The first of these was that on Mt. Wachusett, established in 1911.

There are twenty town forests in the county. In 1913 the Massachusetts Legislature, at the instance of the Massachusetts Forestry Association, enacted a law permitting cities and towns to own and manage forests. The city of Fitchburg was the first to take advantage of it, and, in fact, was the first community in the United States in which was transplanted the European idea of a communal forest. Of the ninety-six town forests which have been established in the State, the county has twenty-two. Most of them are located on watersheds of reservoirs, but a few are tracts bought for the purpose by the towns or received by them as gifts.

Following is a list of these, Ashburnham, 35 acres; Athol, 111 acres; Barre, 40 acres; Fitchburg, 1,840 acres; Gardner, 50 acres; Harvard, 70 acres; Holden, 24 acres; Lancaster, 23 acres; Lunenburg, 120 acres; Leominster, 883 acres; Northboro, 12 acres; North Brookfield, 124 acres; Oxford, 100

acres; Petersham, 98 acres; Spencer, eight acres; Sterling, 126 acres; Uxbridge, 117 acres; Upton, 10 acres; Webster, six acres; Westboro, 20 acres; Westminster, 100 acres; and Winchendon, 250 acres. The total is over 4,200 acres. To this might be added 3,000 acres of land protecting Worcester's fine reservoir, much of which has been planted with forest trees.

The Harvard Forest—One of the most important influences upon forest problems in the county, and, as a matter of fact, in the whole United States, is the Harvard Forest in the township of Petersham, conducted by Harvard University. It has been the property of the University since 1908. It then represented merely what a hundred and fifty years of ups and downs in rural colonization had done to a virgin wilderness. In 1933 it represents what twenty-five years of intensive management have done to organize and improve the natural forest.

"In this long perspective of forestry," said Prof. R. T. Fisher, director of the Harvard Department of Forestry, "this period is trifling. But in a country where the average citizen has so recently exchanged the family axe for a niblick, it is sufficient to make the Harvard Forest the oldest institution of its kind in America."

The forest was originally acquired to serve for the students in the Department very much the purpose of a hospital for students of medicine. By 1915 it seemed plain that, because so many institutions were teaching elementary forestry, and because the Harvard Forest possessed unique qualifications as a forest experimental station, it should be devoted primarily to research and instruction confined to advanced or graduate students. Thus since 1915 the forest has been managed with three main objects: A model forest to demonstrate the practice of forestry; an experiment station for research in forestry and allied problems; and a field laboratory for graduate students. In adopting this policy, the forest has been the only university department of its sort in the country devoted exclusively to research. No better description of the forest and its functioning could be had than that prepared by the University, which follows:

"The Harvard Forest consists of 2,100 acres of varied woodland, situated in the town of Petersham, in northern Worcester County. Well timbered almost all over, it contains a greater variety of the different stages of forest represented in New England history than can be found on an equal area anywhere else in the region. Besides authentic fragments of the original primeval forest, it has phases of second growth and tree species representative both of the northern and central forests. In addition to the original tract, the forest has had a number of accessions given for special purposes: in Winchester, New Hampshire, twenty acres of primeval pine and hemlock forest,

one of the very last remnants of such forest in New England and of great value for scientific purposes; in Hamilton, Massachusetts, 120 acres of coniferous plantations, established and given to the forest by the late Nathan Matthews and embodying one of the earliest and most extensive experiments with native and exotic softwoods yet made in the country; in Petersham, a fifty-acre tract of mixed woods, given by G. F. Schwarz for demonstrating adaptations of forestry to landscape architecture; and finally a valuable stand of timber covering more than 150 acres and contiguous to the main tract, loaned by the New England Box Company for an indefinite period for joint experimental work in forest management.

"Contained in the Petersham ownership is a thousand-acre bird refuge of unusual interest and value, which is jointly maintained by the University and the State. The forest also conducts a nursery for the raising of tree seedlings. This contains usually about a quarter of a million trees, which are used in part for planting in the forest and in part to supply neighboring landowners with planting stock.

"When the study of forestry began actively in this country about thirty years ago, almost nothing was known about the silvicultural characteristics of American forest trees and, in the absence of that knowledge, it was impossible to translate into terms of American practice the principles which were being applied in the older countries, or to apply new principles with any confidence. The great body of classified, factual information which is the first essential of any science or art was lacking. It is easy to understand that knowledge concerning long-lived organisms like forest trees will take a long time to accumulate.

"The Harvard school was fortunate in being first to obtain a sizeable tract of land whereon the physical conditions, tree species, and forest ages were at once so various and so typical that valuable observations and numerous instructive experimental operations could begin immediately. For twenty-two years the school has maintained records in the form of maps, annual descriptions, and operation costs which already amount to a body of data of unique interest and importance. The cost records have been kept in terms of labor-hours as well as money, so that they can be translated in terms of business conditions prevailing at any date. From these records and studies precise and new knowledge has been derived. With this as a basis the forest should now be enabled to enter even more actively than heretofore upon the experimental stage to which every science turns eagerly as soon as enough preliminary data have been gathered to warrant. The position of leadership which the forest has attained by reason of the cultivation of its fortunate opportunities during these twenty-two years is clearly indicated in the following section.

"With respect to all its objectives the forest has made a record of distinguished service. Being now the oldest scientifically managed forest in the United States, it is able to show the tangible results of different methods of cutting or treatment of forest crops which only time can produce and which are to be seen nowhere else short of foreign countries. These results are shown each year to large numbers of persons concerned in professional forestry or woodland management. Through plantations, logging operations, marking for cuttings, etc., planned and supervised by members of the staff, the forest has contributed to the development or reforestration of nearly 50,000 acres of land in the Petersham region; and with much of this area the department still maintains an advisory connection.

"One of the principal reasons why the lessons of the Harvard Forest have been convincing is that it has been managed from the start as a paying enterprise in which the developing measures for maintaining and increasing production were more than paid for by the income from cuttings. Today, the forest has a larger volume of timber and a substantially higher annual production than it had twenty years ago; and in the meanwhile nearly four and one-half million feet of lumber have been cut and profitably marketed. The forest is thus the most highly developed example in the country of the means whereby forests can be made to do their own reforesting and thus keep on producing indefinitely."

Mt. Wachusett, Purgatory Chasm, Doane's Falls—The county has two State reservations—the Mt. Wachusett Reservation in Princeton and the Purgatory Chasm Reservation in Sutton. A third reservation, to be established by the county itself, will be at Doane's Falls in Royalston. One is the loftiest mountain in the State east of the Connecticut River, another a bit of chaos split out of a rocky hillside in a country of gentle hills and pleasant valleys, the third a series of impressive waterfalls which have few rivals in beauty in the Commonwealth.

The Mt. Wachusett Reservation was established in 1901. Its fifteen hundred acres include the whole of the mountain mass and its immediate approaches. Its character and condition at the time of the purchase of the land was such as may be found anywhere in the highlands of the county, excepting for the mountain itself, with its rugged contour and naked summit, which towers high above the surrounding forest country. Perhaps one-fifth of the area then consisted of old pasture, where a scattered growth of white pine had seeded itself. Elsewhere conditions were exactly what might be expected when cut-over woodland has been allowed to care for itself. There were a few trails, but no roads, excepting the rude approach from the base to the tumble-down hotel.

A tree nursery was soon planted, and in the passing years much work has been done in covering the bare pastures and fostering the old forest. On the higher slopes this is practically primeval growth, for, because of its stunted size and inaccessibility, it has never been seriously touched by axemen. Modern highways were constructed, one for the ascent, another for the descent, laid out with great engineering skill in easy grades on the contour lines, so that motorists find no difficulty in reaching the summit without undue strain on their cars. The old trails have been kept in repair, and new avenues have been opened that quick access may be had to any part of the reservation in case of fire. A modern hotel building was erected at the summit to replace the ancient structure. On each fair day from early spring till the approach of winter, great numbers of people travel to the summit, in their cars or afoot. The fire tower is the hotel cupola, where visitors are made welcome. Wachusett as a mountain is unique. It rises a thousand feet above the surrounding hills. It dwarfs every eminence between Monadnock to the northward and the plains of southern Connecticut, and between the Connecticut Valley and the ocean. Nestled at its southerly base are the white buildings of the village of Princeton.

To the north one looks across the mountainous country of New Hampshire, and on a crystal-clear day may see with a telescope the dome of Mt. Washington against the skyline, one hundred and twenty-five miles away. To the west are Mt. Tom and the Mt. Holyoke range on the Connecticut River, and the Berkshire Hills beyond, with Mt. Greylock, 70 miles distant, in the northwestern corner of Massachusetts. Further to the northwest are range after range of the Green Mountains of Vermont, and in the southwest, far away, are the Catskills of the Hudson Valley. To the south the eye carries down into southern Connecticut. To the east, forty-five miles distant, are a trio of pinnacles, Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown, the Boston Custom House Tower and the lofty Boston post office. The bay and the ocean glimmer beyond, and with an average glass one may watch the ships and steamers as they pass on their way coastwise, or arrive or depart on the trans-Atlantic voyage.

In the earlier years of the reservation the experiment was conducted of raising elk and deer for food. Large areas of the wooded slopes were fenced off and herds established. But the project was abandoned as impracticable. A few elk were sold for the Boston market, but there was no profit, nor likelihood that either elk or deer venison could be produced in quantity from animals so confined.

Naturally, Wachusett occupied a prominent place in the old days, not only in the landscape, but in the minds of the inhabitants. Peter Whitney thus

describes it as it appeared to him in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

"This is an exceedingly high mountain, and is some of the first land discovered by people on board vessels at sea, when making for any of the seaports in Massachusetts; and it is to be seen from the higher lands in a greater part of the towns of the Commonwealth, especially in those between the sea and Connecticut River. It contains seven or eight hundred acres, about 400 acres of which being the mountain, and being Province land was given to the Rev. Mr. Fuller, by the General Court, in consideration that he was the first minister, and settled upon a small salary, in the infancy of the town (Princeton). This was no trifling gift, for although one hundred acres of it be worth little or nothing, yet most of the remaining three hundred acres will make considerable pasture land, and some parts very good.

"The highest part of the mountain is a flat rock, or a ledge of rocks, for some rods round, and there is a small pond of water generally upon the top of it, of two or three rods square. And where there is any earth, it is covered with blueberry bushes for acres around, and as you descend the hill there are very low and small trees, with flat tops, like those on the seashore, occasioned no doubt, in part, by the state of the air, for it is several degrees colder, at any time, on the top than at the bottom of the mountain. The further you descend, the taller are the trees, until they become of the common size. Upon the southerly side of this hill it may be ascended to the very top with horses, but upon the east, north and northwest, it is very steep, broken and ledgy, and many acres unimprovable at present. Perhaps its bowels may contain valuable hidden treasure, which in some future period may be described."

No treasure has been found in the bowels of Wachusett, but as a Mecca for motorists and pedestrians it has produced a great wealth of healthful and interested pleasure.

Purgatory Chasm Reservation, four miles from the village of Sutton, was created in 1916. It comprises one hundred acres of woodland, which is cut wide open by a vast, yawning crevasse. It is far back from any highway, and is reached by a private road two miles long, over which visitors may motor in comfort to view a remarkable scene. Much work has been done by the special commission having the reservation in its charge, including expert forestry in the woodlands that cover practically all of the tract.

Purgatory is appropriately named. "This is a most stupendous place," wrote Peter Whitney, "and fills the mind of the beholder with most exalted ideas of the infinite power of the great Creator of all things, 'who maketh the mountains, and they know not; who shaketh the earth out of its place, and the pillars thereof tremble.'"

The chasm extends in a straight line more than a quarter of a mile along the southwestern slope of a broad and rocky hill. The walls rise perpendicularly, hardly fifty feet apart, to a height in places of seventy-five feet. Below is chaos. The bottom is piled deep with immense rock fragments, the debris of what was solid ledge until some cataclysm rent it apart and caused the collapse of a titanic wedge. Geologists tell us that the actual depth of the chasm measured to solid rock is probably in excess of a hundred feet. The confusion of colossal litter extends deep. A brook runs beneath it, finally emerging into the light of day. There are caverns which the visitor may explore, some of them extending far among the rocks. In some of them winter ice remains unmelted until mid-summer. Icicles, formed by moisture dripping through fissures in the ceilings, are suspended as stalactites. There are deep fissures. One of these is formed narrow and deep, as if the ledge had been sliced open by the stroke of a cyclopean cleaver. It bears the name of the Devil's Corn-Crib.

Looking down in the chasm, or standing within it, the picture is one of sinister, forbidding desolation. Purgatory in a rough mountain country would be unusual. In the pastoral expanses of southern Worcester County it is a monstrosity.

Various geological theories have been advanced for this breaking asunder of a hill or rock. One is that it came about through a strictly local subsidence of the earth's crust at this particular point. Another is that it was caused by erosion by the waves of an ancient sea, as Purgatory at Newport, Rhode Island, was worn out of the cliff by the action of ocean waves through the ages. But this idea is refuted by the fact that in Sutton there is not a trace of water action on the rocks. No boulder big or little is found in the débris which has been rounded and polished by erosion.

Most geologists who have studied the chasm—and there have been many such—believe that, geologically speaking, it does not date far back in the past. Certainly it was not there in the Ice Age, for it contains no glacial débris. The logical conclusion, these scientists assert, is that the hill opened in an earthquake of great severity. So tremendous a tension was exerted in the mass, that the "master joints" of the mineral strata were weakened and gave way, causing the cave-in. In no other way can be explained, it is maintained, the fragments dumped on the chasm floor.

Competent geologists have expressed the opinion that the chasm may have been formed only a few centuries ago. But, so far as recorded, no Indian tradition suggests that the earthquake, or whatever it was, occurred in the history of the Nipmuck tribes which inhabited the region when the English landed on the Massachusetts coast more than three centuries ago. Such an awe-inspiring incident would surely have found a place in the

legends of a superstitious, savage people, and would have been conveyed by them to the newcomers.

The Doane's Falls Reservation has been authorized by the Massachusetts Legislature, but has not yet been purchased by the county. The falls are situated just below the highway between Athol and Royalston, about two miles south of the latter village. They are impressively beautiful, particularly in times of high water. Lawrence Brook comes down through a chain of ponds from southern New Hampshire, and in an eighth of a mile plunges more than a hundred feet. The drop includes two high falls, one from a narrowed shelf, the other, just below it, from a broader brim, and there are steep cascades whose white waters are in sharp contrast to their dark rocky bed. The setting is most picturesque—a deep, forest-bordered ravine, with nearly perpendicular cliffs. Nothing in the county compares with this rushing, roaring, tumbling torrent.

Game Birds, Game Fish and Pond Fish—The breeding and distribution of game birds and fish antedated other conservation activities in Worcester County, though no great progress had been made twenty-five years ago. The county was the first in Massachusetts to have a fish hatchery, excepting for an experimental station in Winchester, conducted under the private direction of Edward A. Brackett, then Commissioner of Fish and Game.

When the experimental work had demonstrated the practicability of fish culture, the Legislature, in 1890, appropriated $1,000 "for the proper protection and distribution of trout, salmon and shad, and the establishment and maintenance of hatching houses in such places in the Commonwealth as may be deemed necessary."

A site was selected in Wilkinsonville in the town of Sutton, and it was recorded in 1892 that the hatchery was completed, and that there was a stock on hand of "10,000 to 15,000 trout, most of them yearlings, taken from the hatching house at Winchester last spring." Land was purchased from time to time, to a total of twenty-five acres. In 1901 the production of fish of fingerling size was begun, and hundreds of thousands of them were placed in the cold water, perpetual brooks. In 1925 was begun the raising of trout large enough to be caught when planted, and all State plants, as well as that at Wilkinsonville, have been equipped for carrying fish of that size. Most of the effort has been devoted to trout—the native brook trout, the brown trout and the rainbow. But some land-locked salmon have been bred and released, though without conspicuous success in providing sport and food for the fisherman.

In the beginning of the Wilkinsonville station, pioneer work was undertaken in the breeding of grouse, quail and hares, while pheasant raising on a

considerable scale was carried on. Much good was accomplished in restocking the woods and coverts. But in 1912 the breeding of birds was all transferred to other stations, and attention was concentrated upon the fish.

Most interesting and important, and, in a way, novel, is the Pond Cultural Unit established in Sutton, in connection with the Wilkinsonville station. Up to 1920, practically all effort in fish propagation had been directed to the rearing of game fish, and practically all suitable trout waters had been stocked for a considerable period of years. But in addition to sport fishermen there existed in the State, as everywhere, a large body of men who cared nothing for this kind of fishing, but who did enjoy going out and catching a "mess of fish" of the food species, such as are to be found in the ponds of the county. For this element of the fishing public little or nothing had been done. Moreover, there were many bodies of water of a temperature too high for trout, but in which other species thrive. These lakes and ponds and streams, having received no attention, had become nearly barren of fish.

So attention was directed to devising some method of raising these species in quantities. The best possibility seemed to be what is known as the pond cultural method, which consists of introducing brood stock into ponds so arranged that they may be drawn off to permit the collection of the annual crop of young for distribution and the return of breeders to the home waters.

About this time Superintendent Arthur Merrill of the Wilkinsonville Hatchery called attention of the possibilities for this sort of fish culture in the so-called Stockwell Ponds in the western part of Sutton. These consisted of four bodies of water formed by dams located on a mile of the main ditch of what had been a cranberry bog. The area provided a well-ordered tract of land which covered the necessary flowage, and having ready-made dams, ditching and grading, so that no great expense was involved in preparing an ideal system of pond culture.

The area of eighty acres was leased, and the breeding was begun with eight hundred two-year-old blue-gills from Pennsylvania, where a similar work had already been started. Over the years, the Merrill Pond System, as it has been officially named, has developed, extended and improved, until it now comprises nine ponds with from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifteen acres of water, where are produced great numbers of yellow perch, pickerel, and horned pout of the native species, and blue-gills and crappie, aliens which have taken kindly to the warmer waters of the county. These are distributed annually, with the result that the man who likes to go out and catch his "mess of fish" for the family frying pan is happy again.

and the minds of lawyers are habitually trained to controversy, which is the basis of the profession and its science. And just as the development of that science has progressed as the result of the recorded history of private litigation under our system of reported opinions which are studied and criticized by the bar, so this controversial training results naturally in concentrating the imagination and critical faculties (both positive and negative) of lawyers upon the study of the recorded history of principles of liberty, more closely and keenly than those of other men. This accounts for the prominence of lawyers at every stage of development in our democracy. It also accounts for a considerable amount of the prejudice against lawyers, for while they are so trained to controversy that they accept it as one of the conditions of life and do not take it too seriously, yet many people dislike controversy and are irritated by it, and incidentally with the bar, which is a necessary incident of it.

It is not a thing that is peculiarly to the credit of the bar, although many individual lawyers, some of whom will be described in this story, deserve special credit. The credit belongs to the training necessarily incident to the profession, the main value of which is to serve the public by sharpening the faculties of men for those controversies which are a part of the lot of humanity. Accordingly the prominence of lawyers is not necessarily to be deplored. It is not to be regarded as a matter of personal or "class" privilege, in spite of all the complacent remarks which find their way into the mouths of after-dinner speakers of the profession from time to time. The thing should be studied and understood and, when it is so studied, the fact which stands out in bold relief is that the prominence of lawyers in a democracy is the result of an absolutely impersonal force which cannot be avoided. The force is the training needed to study and understand, and apply principles as law. Accordingly, the more the community realizes the essential importance and the useful possibilities of this force of training in the study of principles in its highest development, the more public service and value will the State get from the bar, and the more confidence will be shown in allowing competent judges on the bench to give the best service of which they are capable instead of being restricted by petty rules inspired by distrust.

If one desires to go back to the lower stones of the foundation of the judicial system upon which the county of Worcester was set up, and of courts and law in our Commonwealth, one must go as far as the charters under which the Massachusetts Bay Colony was settled. The patent granted by King James, on April 20, 1606, and the new one issued to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and his associates needs no discussion here, any more than those of June 21, 1621, to John Pierce and associates in trust for the Plymouth Colony, and still others to the Gorges of December, 1622, and March 19, 1626-28. The latter-named is important as being the charter of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England" which gave legal status to the land on which Worcester County is located. Matthew Cradock was named by the King as Governor of the Colony, until 1630, when he became Local Governor. Cradock was named by the King as the Governor of the

company. John Endicott was the Governor of the Colony until 1630, when he became Local Governor. On October 20, 1629, a "Generall court holden in England at Mr. Goffe the Deputyes House." John Winthrop was chosen Governor and John Humphrey, Deputy Governor; and as members of the assistants, Sir R. Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Endicott, Mr. Noell, William Vassall, Sam Sharpe, Edward Rossiter, Thomas Sharpe, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Mr. Aldersy, Nathaniel Wright, Theoph Eaton and Thomas Adams. The first Court of Assistants is said to have been held on the Winthrop ship *Arbella* in Charlestown Harbor, August 23, 1630. The next meeting at the Governor's house on September 7, and a third, at the same place, on September 28 of that year. This was the origin of government in New England, which took on more of the characteristics that now are found in it, at the first General Court, held on October 19, 1630, in Boston.

The officers sanctioned by the charter in addition to Governors and the eighteen assistants were, a treasurer, secretary of the court, major-general, admiral at sea, and commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, to be chosen by freemen (voters in good religious standing) on the last Wednesday in Easter. At the first General Court held, the power of the voters was limited to choosing assistants, but on May 9, 1632, "it was generally agreed upon the erection of hands that the Governor, Deputy-Governor, assistants should be chosen by the whole court of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, assistants and freemen." Other laws laid down in the early years of the General Court were: May 14, 1634, "none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen." "None but the General Court hath the power to make and establish laws, to elect and appoint officers . . . . or to remove such under misdemeanor, as also to set up duties and powers of said officers." That "none but the General Court hath the power to raise monies and taxes and to dispose of lands." Possibly the most important ruling was one sanctioning the choosing of the voters (freemen) of representatives "who shall have the full power and voice of all said freemen . . . . for the making of laws, granting of lands, etc." The two divisions of the court were deputies and assistants, both meeting together until 1644. At this time the two met squarely as the Court of the Assistants, and the Court of the Deputies. It is from this model that the court of today was patterned. The first meeting of the deputies assembled May 14, 1634. What is now Worcester County was the scene of the movements which in that day wrought out a system of government which with comparatively few changes controls the affairs of the Commonwealth three hundred years later.

Until 1636 the whole judicial power rested with the Court of Assistants, but by this time the legal and judicial business of the Colony exceeded the

WEBSTER'S MUNICIPAL GROUP

Office building in foreground, Junior High School and Bartlett High School at the rear

ability of the court to fulfill. At this time it was "ordered that such of the magistrates as shall reside in or near Boston, or any five, four, or three of them, the Governor or Deputy to be one, shall have the power to assemble together upon . . . . to hear and determine all civil causes whereof the debt or trespass or damages, shall not exceed twenty pounds, and all criminal causes not extending to life or banishment . . . . and to summon juries out of the neighbor towns, and the marshal or necessary officers are to give their attendance as at other courts." The limitation of the powers of these courts was much the same as that about Boston, the right of appeal being expressly given.

Increased population and settlements, on May 10, 1673, led to the establishment of shires or counties. It was provided by law that "there shall also be county courts held in the several counties by the magistrates living in the respective counties or any other magistrates that can attend the same, or by any magistrates that the General Court shall appoint from time to time, together with such persons of wealth, where there shall be need, as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court (at the nomination of the freemen of the county) to be joined in commission with the magistrates so that there may be five in all, three whereof shall keep a court provided there be one magistrate; everyone of which courts shall have full power to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal, not extending to life, member or banishment (which with causes of divorce are reserved to the Court of Assistants) and to make and constitute clerks and other needful officers, and to summon juries of inquest and trials out of the towns of the county." These county courts retained what had been held by the inferior courts prior to the formation of the shire. Causes concerning trespass, damage, etc., "that doth not exceed twenty shillings" were also to be cared for in the county. And in 1647 and 1649 laws were enacted that enlarged the jurisdiction of the county courts whereby the amount involved was raised to forty pounds. Provision was also made for the appointment of commissioners by the Court of Assistants or the county court, who could carry out many of the legal provisions, limiting them however to such cases as did not involve imprisonment Many difficulties were refused airing in the county court until considered by these commissioners, or some magistrate, from whose decision an appeal had been made. The judicial system then up to 1685 was: A General Court with legislative powers and a limited appellate jurisdiction from the Court of Assistants; the General Court of Assistants, or the Greater Quarter Court, with the exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases involving life, member, or banishment, and concurrent jurisdiction with the county courts in civil cases not involving more than one hundred pounds, and appellate jurisdiction from

the county courts; the county courts or the inferior quarter courts, with jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, except those involving divorce, life, member or banishment, having power to summon grand and petit jurors and appoint its own clerks and other necessary officials; to lay out roads; license taverns; see that a proper ministry was supported; and have the general control of probate matters; prove wills; grant administration papers; record deeds and mortgages; and have the appellate jurisdiction from the Commissioners' Courts; Strangers' Courts held at first by the Governor or Deputy Governor and two magistrates, or in their absence, by three magistrates with the same jurisdiction as the county courts as far as the stranger was concerned, and whose judgment was final; Commissioners' Courts; lastly, Selectmen's Courts.

What might be termed the third series of attempts to populate what was to be Worcester County, was well on its way to an ultimate success when a most important step was taken in the development of a body of laws. This was the issue of a new Charter, on October 7, 1691, but which did not reach Boston until May 14, 1692. It was known as the Charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England. Under its provisions the government consisted of a Governor, Deputy Governor and Secretary, appointed by the King and Councillors chosen by the General Court, and a House of Representatives, chosen annually by the people. The General Court was empowered to establish courts; the Governor and Councillors to appoint judges and all other officials of the courts. Control over probate was delegated to the judges of the county courts. The General Court was no longer judicial, but creative.

The first enactments of the General Court were to keep in force the local laws for five months, after which an act was passed establishing judicatories and courts of justice within the Province (November 25, 1692.) This act was repealed in 1695. In 1697 an act providing for a trial by a twelve-man jury was passed, but repealed the next year. Three acts were passed of prime importance June 26, 1699. The first established a Court of General Sessions of the Peace to be held annually in the county by justices of the peace, who were empowered to attend to all matters concerning the public peace, and to punish offenders. Second the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to be held in the county by four commissioned as justices who were to consider and decide all civil matters where the amount concerned was not more than forty shillings, except where freehold was concerned or an appeal had been made. Third, the Superior Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and four others, who should hear all pleas of the Crown, and take cognizance of all pleas. The Court of Chancery, first set up November 25, 1692, was reëstablished in 1693. Finally, there was the Court of the Justices of Peace, reëstablished in 1697, with the power of judgment in matters of debt, tres-

pass, etc., where title of land or amounts exceeding forty shillings were concerned. Changes were made and powers enlarged or diminished from time to time. Another court was reëstablished at this period, the Probate Court, the powers of which rested with the Governor and Council, but which power they delegated to judges appointed by them. There was no regularly established Court of Probate until March 12, 1784.

The aforesaid series of courts were in effect when an act incorporating Worcester County was passed by the General Court of the Province in 1731, in which provision was made for four annual terms of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and for an annual session of the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery. The jurisdiction of the justices of peace and of the judges of probate supplemented that of these more formal tribunals, and the whole constituted a system of judicial machinery which served the needs of the community until the adoption of a State Constitution. With several changes of name and some amplification to adapt it to the increased business and complexity of interests in modern highly organized society, its chief features persist in the system of today. The Superior Court of Judicature was replaced, in title principally, on February 20, 1781, by the Supreme Judicial Court. Says Grinnell, "With the creation of this court the development of a 'government of laws and not of men' may be said to have begun, and while there were at first very few trained lawyers, either on or off the bench, gradually a bar began to appear in the eighteenth century, and by 1760 there were a number of lawyers of marked ability . . . . The year 1761 may be said to mark the beginning of the intellectual history of our modern American doctrine of constitutional law which emerged from the Revolution." By one of the ironies of history, this "intellectual history" started in a case defended by James Otis who, while he argued that Legislatures and Kings must be below the law, did so that he might protect the smuggling practiced by some of the foremost citizens of the Province.

The Superior Court was composed of a chief and four associate justices, but until the Revolution no resident of the Worcester County section was appointed to its bench. The first session in Worcester of this court was held on the fourth Wednesday in September, 1731, the judges sitting on September 22, and adjourned the next day to meet in October of the following year. The first session of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas was held on August 10, 1731. This court was composed of Chief Justice John Chandler, of Woodstock, who was continued in office until his death in 1743; Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster, who served until 1757; William Ward, of Southboro, 1745; and William Jennison, of Worcester, who died in 1743. The first session of the Worcester Court of General Sessions, was also held in August,

1731, but a sort of court of probate is reputed to have been held by Judge John Chandler, on July 12, of that same year, and would therefore have been the first judicial body to act in the new county. The General Commission for the Peace for the county of Worcester was signed on June 30, 1731, and thirteen justices of the peace were then appointed. These were: John Chandler, Joseph Wilder, William Ward, William Jennison, Daniel Taft, John Chandler, Jr., Benjamin Willard, Samuel Wright, Josiah Willard, Samuel Dudley, Henry Lee, and Nahum Ward. Four of these were also appointed justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, as has already been noted. Chief Justice Chandler also presided over the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

Since the Court of Sessions was short-lived, but the parent of the County Commission, a word may be inserted here concerning its further history. Established in 1692 it continued very much in its old form until 1807 when an act was passed providing that it consist of one chief justice and associates appointed in the counties by the Governor; these justices to act as a General Court of Sessions instead of county justices of the peace. Only one of its number was required to be "learned in the law." In 1807, Pliny Merrick, a lawyer of Brookfield, was Chief Justice and his associates consisted of Oliver Fiske, Jeremiah Robinson, Abraham and John W. Lincoln, of Worcester, John Whiting of Lancaster, Moses White of Rutland, John Spurr of Charlton, and Jonathan Davis of Oxford. It is worthy of note that although this court and its members were held in slight esteem by legal circles, the magistrates as a whole were among the leaders in their various localities, men who rose high in many spheres of endeavor. On June 21, 1811, the jurisdiction of the General Court of Sessions was turned over to the Court of Common Pleas, and the administration of county affairs remained with this court until 1819, when the powers were returned to the Court of Sessions, the formation of which had been slightly changed. In 1826, March 4, the jurisdiction over highways was given to a board of "Commissioners of Highways," four in number, appointed and commissioned by the Governor. The first Worcester board consisted of William Eaton of Worcester, Aaron Tufts of Dudley, Jared Weed of Petersham, and Edmund Cushing of Lunenburg. On March 11, 1854, the present form of elective county commissioners was established.

Joseph Wilder succeeded Judge John Chandler, in 1740, as Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and was in turn succeeded in this post by John Chandler, Jr., 1754-62, Timothy Ruggles, 1762-74, when the court was closed. General Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury, was Chief Justice from the time of the resumption of the court's activities, October 17, 1775-98, John Sprague of Lancaster, 1798-1801; Jonathan Warner, 1801, and Benjamin Heywood, of Worcester were the last appointees, prior to June 21,

1811, when the court was abolished. In the year 1811, a legislative act divided the Commonwealth into six circuits, with Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire forming the western group and served the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, composed of one Chief Justice with two Associate Justices, supplemented on the bench by two local magistrates, members of the General Court of Sessions. In 1814 these two courts were merged and so continued for five years. In 1821 the circuit system was abandoned, and the Court of Common Pleas substituted, with four judges. The number of justices was increased to five, March 1, 1843; to six on March 10, 1845; to seven on May 24, 1851.

The Common Pleas Court was replaced by the Superior Court, on April 5, 1859. The following were judges of the Court of Common Pleas from its founding in 1821 to its abolishment in 1859: Artemas Ward, Chief Justice, 1821; John Mason Williams, 1821, Chief Justice in 1839; Solomon Strong, 1821; Samuel Howe, 1821; David Cummins, 1828; Charles Henry Warren, 1839; Charles Allen, 1842; Pliny Merrick, 1843; Joshua Holyoke Ward, 1844; Emory Washburn, 1844; Luther Stearns Cushing, 1844; Daniel Wells, Chief Justice, 1845; Harrison Gray Otis Colby, 1845; Charles Edward Forbes, 1847; Edward Mellen, 1847, and Chief Justice, 1854; George Tyler Bigelow, 1848; Jonathan Coggswell Perkins, 1848; Horatio Byington, 1848; Thomas Hopkinson, 1848; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 1849; Pliny Merrick, 1850; Henry Walker Bishop, 1851; George Nixon Briggs, 1853; George Partridge Sanger, 1854; Henry Morris, 1855; and David Aiken, 1856. The Superior Court is not a county court although the terms are held by counties, and the writs, processes, records and the like, use the county as a territorial unit. The terms of the court are largely established by statute, and the Chief Justice assigns from his Associate Justices the judges needed for county sessions. As first organized the Superior Court justices totalled ten, a number gradually increased down to the present. The justices are appointed at large in the State by the Governor and Council.

An interesting study might be made of the inference with the rise and growth of a better judicial system by prejudice against the delegation of powers to officials. The Supreme Judicial Court, for example, was not given full jurisdiction in equity until 1877, chiefly because the old English practice, from which our own was inherited, would not trust judges with the effective powers naturally incident to their judicial office. On the other hand, there has been always too much to be performed by any of our courts, more especially after population had increased. The Courts of Probate and Insolvency grew quite naturally out of this overburdening of other departments of justice. Probate administration in the first century of the Massachusetts Colony was almost wholly carried on by the Governor and Council. These powers were

delegated to county courts and still later to local magistrates, known as Judges of Probate and Registers of Probate. When a new State Constitution was adopted about 1784, Courts of Probate were established, with the Supreme Judicial Court acting as the Appellate Probate Division. The offices of Judge and Register of Probate were appointive until 1856, since when the Registers have been elected. In that same year, 1856, a Court of Insolvency was set up, but was merged with the Probate Court two years later. In 1862 the Probate Court became a Court of Record. The history of the Court of Probate and Insolvency has been one of increasing duties and powers, enough so to seriously harm its efficiency and reputation. Since the act of 1919, which severely limited probate appeals the work of the "people's court" has been greatly expedited. The Land Court was founded in 1898 after four years of investigation to administer the Land Registration Act. Through it titles may be registered on petition by judicial decree, after certain formalities. Its chief virtue is that of making unmarketable good titles marketable by removing clouds, calling in persons claiming any rights, and after a fair hearing, settling questions and registering the title subject to the known rights of others. The judges of the new court were given a free hand to develop the practice in accordance with the needs of the community as shown by experience. The court now has jurisdiction of ten different proceedings relating to land. Three judges and a recorder carry on the business of the court from the standpoint of the State. In most counties, the county register of deeds serves as assistant recorder.

The District Courts of today, of which there are seventy-three in the Commonwealth, are a development of the police and municipal courts of the larger places. The Worcester Police Court was created in 1848, and was succeeded after two decades by the Municipal Court, which in turn gave way in 1872 to the Central District Court. Five other district courts were established in that decade, the county being divided as follows: Central District Court, with jurisdiction in city of Worcester, and towns of Millbury, Sutton, Auburn, Leicester, Paxton, West Boylston, Holden and Shrewsbury, First South Worcester District, sitting in Webster and Southbridge, for towns of Webster, Southbridge, Sturbridge, Charlton, Dudley and Oxford; Second South Worcester District, sitting at Blackstone and Uxbridge, with jurisdiction over Blackstone, Uxbridge, Douglas, and Northbridge; Third South Worcester District, sitting at Milford, and embracing towns of Milford, Mendon, and Upton; First East Worcester District, sitting at Westborough, and Grafton, for those towns, also for Northborough and Southborough; Second East Worcester District, holding sessions at Clinton, and embracing the towns of Clinton, Lancaster, Sterling, Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. Fitchburg then had a police court; the other towns had trial justices. In effect the

District Courts, with justices taken from among the best of the local bar, had markedly reduced the work of the Superior Court, and as its usefulness has been proven additions in increased powers and scope have been conferred upon it. The Juvenile Court is of recent birth but its growth is one of the remarkable developments in the field of jurisprudence. The United States District Court in the Worcester District, can be traced back to problems growing out of a state of rebellion against England and cases of international rather than State applications. The court did not blossom in Massachusetts until the Commonwealth ratified the Federal Constitution, in the year 1789, and until 1869 was unpopular with bench and bar.

The layman, at least, is impressed in connection with any study of the judiciary, with the unusual slowness of its development, and particularly by the hesitancy and delay manifest in legislative policies relating to courts and their necessary adaptation to the needs of the people the courts were intended to serve. One is inclined to reason that while the change is very great from the English system, originally dominated wholly by the King and those in his appointment, to one in which law is above individuals, still more than three hundred years have been allotted to this task. Many days of the General Court have been used in the process; there have been constitutional conventions upon several occasions since those of 1780 and 1788, although the Commonwealth has always been chary about tampering with its constitution; and there is the Judicature Commission, founded in 1919, to review the entire judicial system and make recommendations. As the result of its 1921 report the Judicial Council was created as a permanent body which takes the place of the spasmodic special commissions which have been appointed at intervals of ten to fifteen years and provides a central "clearing house" for the more ordered and consistent future study of the administration of Justice. Quoting from the 1921 report of the Judicature Commission:

> With the problem presented of recommending improvements in the system of one of the oldest American Commonwealths, the ideal of greater unity and ot greater flexibility and elasticity in the administrative features, as well as of greater responsibility, must be borne in mind as one to be approached as far as is practicable. On the other hand, we are dealing with a system for administration of justice in an old Commonwealth where, whatever may have been the defects of the system, the personal character and ability of most of the individuals who have held judicial office have, on the whole, made the system work, as modified from time to time during a period of one hundred and forty years, in such a way as not only to retain the respect of the community but to give the State a distinguished position in the minds of all thorough students of civil government.

Shays' Rebellion—There is a page in history, and especially in the annals of the courts and lawyers, which was written mainly by Worcester

County—Shays' Rebellion. It was written after the Revolution had ended and a new government established. A nation had to be created for ex-rebellious governments, of states, and Massachusetts had been the last to adopt a State Constitution. Only about one out of five possible voters cast a ballot for this constitution which was neither democratic in doctrine or practice. All of this cost money, and when the legislators settled down to business there was more money spent. By 1786 Massachusetts had a debt of £1,631,789 in addition to her share in the Continental debt of £1,565,831. It was impossible to collect enough taxes to pay the interest upon these debts, not to mention the principal. In October of that year Rufus King, writing to John Adams, drew his attention to the fact that the taxes assessed that year would equal about one-third of the total income of the citizens. The fictitious prosperity which had accompanied the later years of the war had vanished—Worcester County had been free from warfare and the ill effects of the Revolution after 1776, and its agriculture had paid well. But now the farmer could not sell his produce; such specie as he had received had been spent, and the State would not do as Rhode Island did, issue fiat paper currency—Continental paper was worthless. Creditors who had been liberal when prosperity was rife, became insistent upon payment of debts. Mortgages were foreclosed; farms taken from those who could not pay. Often if the farm failed to sell for enough to pay the debt under the law, all that he possessed, even his store of food, could be seized, and if still not enough, the debtor could be thrown into jail until he paid in full. Actually there were comparatively few imprisoned for debt in Worcester, in 1784 only seven; in 1785, however, there were eighty-six, and in the following year, eighty. In truth there were not jails enough, nor did the towns care to pay the costs of keeping inmates.

This outline of the backgrounds of the Shays' Rebellion is underdrawn. Judge Jonathan Smith of Clinton enumerates larger debt and tax figures and paints a far gloomier picture of social and physical conditions, as do most historians. He pointed out:

In 1785 nearly everybody owed almost everybody else, and each creditor tried to collect what was due him. If a debtor was sued, he in turn sued his debtor, and thus actions at law multiplied. The population of Worcester County was approximately 50,000. In 1784-85 about 4,000 lawsuits were entered in the courts of this county. Every lawyer represented at least two persons, and hence there was one lawsuit for the head of about every family in the county during these last two years.

Dwight Foster of Brookfield, one of the prominent lawyers of the county, had his office thronged from early morning until late at night by creditors seeking to collect their dues, and by angry debtors invoking his services to defend them in the courts. The fences on both sides of the road leading to

and from his place were, during the daylight, lined with the carriages of his clients, much as are the fences near the entrance to country fair grounds now while the exhibition is in progress. . . . . The great hardship to the debtor, however, was what followed the judgment. There was no property exempt from seizure on execution, except the clothes on the debtor's back. The officer could take the bed on which the debtor slept, the last potato in his cellar, and the only cow or pig in his barn to satisfy the execution. Property at the execution sale brought nothing approaching its real value, and the debtor could only look on while the sheriff sold the house over his head and the last mouthful of his provisions for the winter, at a fifth of their real value, knowing at the end that he would be turned into the streets with his family.

Judge William T. Forbes wrote of one of the most pathetic and deplorable cases of imprisonment for debt, that of Colonel Timothy Bigelow "the foremost patriot from Worcester during the Revolutionary War. It seems incredible to us that this minute-man of 1775, who stormed Quebec with Montgomery, who bravely led his men at Monmouth, after his release from the hardship of a British military prison—the companion and friend of Washington and LaFayette—at last, when poor and broken in health, should have been consigned to a debtors' prison, whence he was a few days later 'discharged by deth.'"

The people blamed for these conditions, the General Court which imposed laws which "favored the creditor over the debtor"; the judiciary which was unable to handle their business ("Delay in justice is an injustice"); and the bar most of all. Albert Farnsworth, in the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly* of February, 1927, outlines the causes and character of Shays' Rebellion, and indicates that it was chiefly a debtors' rebellion against the courts and lawyers. One of his paragraphs states: "The real reason that there was so great an outcry against the legal profession was not so much that the tone of the bar was low or the lawyers venal, as it was the fact that there was in Worcester County, as elsewhere, a large class of men not professional lawyers who made a business of buying up claims and bringing suits in the inferior courts to collect. . . . . They practiced largely in the inferior courts and brought these suits there to collect on those small claims which they had bought on speculation. The people hated them, applied the term 'shyster' to them, and made no discrimination between the high-minded lawyer and the unscrupulous speculators. The harsh laws, the fact of a term in jail stared every debtor in the face, the size of the professional income of the lawyers and the acts of others in bringing claims into courts were the main causes of antagonism of the people toward the legal profession."

With the events of the "Rebellion" we are not concerned here. In truth it might better be called a riot or an uprising something like a modern strike, and the only definite purpose of the rioters was to close the court by a show

of armed force. Folk who had won liberty and Statehood by recent years of revolution turned naturally to some method in this crisis. A method approved by the national leaders such as Alexander Hamilton. Worcester happened to be the focal point of the revolt because it was the shire-town of a county of which it was said: "One-third of its people were active belligerents; one-third in sympathy with them and ready to go over to their side if victorious; and the remaining third being conservatives or the ruling class." The "tempest in a teapot" started like most strikes in meetings where demands were formulated. In this case, the town meeting, a perfectly legal form of procedure was used. Then there were conventions of representatives from towns. In general the grievances complained of were: the existence of the State Senate; methods of representation; the sitting of the Legislature in Boston; mode of taxation and the attempt at that time to pay off State and Continental debts; the failure to provide fiat money; but principally against the Court of Common Pleas, lawyers and their high fees. It was suggested that all lawsuits should be stopped until money was plentiful, and that the number of attorneys to a county should be limited to one.

It was only after hundreds of such meetings and conventions, and more than a year in time, that the insurrection got under way. In the first week of September, 1786, on the eve of the fall session of the court, an armed mob of one hundred under Captain Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston, took possession of the Worcester Courthouse, but when it came to the showdown, while the court was held elsewhere, the belligerents stood meekly by while Chief Justice Artemas Ward harangued them for three hours. Again at the time of the November court the justices in their fine robes were prevented from entering the courthouse by the "triple rows of bayonets" and after many threats and much badinage, the judges marched away. The clerk of the court sums up the affair with the entry in his record book "that the court was prevented from being held by an armed force." A much more thrilling description of Shays' Rebellion, and particularly the events in the county seat, is that given by William Lincoln in his ancient *History of Worcester,* an account that has been quoted in every local history since. It is well worth reading as a record by one thoroughly familiar with the facts of this "most dramatic incident in the history of the courts of Worcester County." The rebellion was started to remedy very real and pressing evils. In the beginning regular and legal methods were taken to secure a cure. The opposition of the conservatives, who strangely enough had been the arch rebels of the Revolution, was partisan and prejudiced. It is certain that neither then, or immediately after the collapse of the insurrection, did the legally constituted authorities take any effective measure to assuage the conditions which so grieved and angered the majority of the citizens of Massachusetts. Nor

was anything worth while done to establish the prestige of the judiciary and the bar.

The usual method in writing a narrative such as this is to devote the larger part of it to thumb-nail sketches of members of the bench and bar over a period, which as touching Worcester County, covers more than two hundred years, and to introduce numerous case annals notable for their spectacular qualities or the forensic efforts of the participants. This has been done especially well in such histories as Crane's, Nutt's, Hurd's (William T. Davis and Charles F. Aldrich), Jewett's; the collections and published works of many of the historical societies, and the writings of numerous members of the bench and bar. The biographical material is exceedingly great, and with the years has become embarrassingly so. The first sessions of the Worcester County courts in 1731 attended to less than a dozen cases; in recent years the Superior Court may have a docket of two thousand criminal cases. Civil cases and divorce libels pending will average nearly four thousand. In 1930 there were about six hundred and forty attorneys in Worcester County and the number had remained about stationary in the preceding decade and during the other two decades of this century, although fewer in number, the proportion of lawyers to population was larger. The difference is due probably to the increased educational requirements fixed by the Board of Bar Examiners, on April 23, 1921. It might be noted here that this same board set up almost similar requirements in 1904, but they were curtailed by a legislative enactment in 1915.

Not the reason for the size of the legal fraternity in Worcester County, but its numbers, now and over a long period, is the subject of comment. One should contrast the six hundred and more of today with seventeen "regular practitioners" in the county from 1731 to 1775. Incidentally, Washburn in his *History of the Judiciary* says there were only twenty-five barristers in Massachusetts as late as 1768, so that it surely means that the requirements for recognition as a "regular practitioner" in the county prior to the Revolution were not high. It is of course well known that in the earliest period of our history, the professional lawyer was unknown and as late as 1699 many of the courts were presided over by laymen. With the founding of the Superior Court of Judicature in that year there began the rise of a bar and of trained lawyers capable of sitting on the bench or appearing before it. Following English nomenclature, the barrister was differentiated from the attorney and counsellor, but until long after the Revolution laymen were privileged to represent clients in the courts.

The reference made to the number of "practitioners" from the setting up of the county to the Revolution is from Benjamin Thomas Hill, and the

paragraphs containing it are well worth reprinting in full, not only for names, but for its calling attention to the effects of the Revolution upon the bar.

In 1774 the disputes between the government and the people had nearly reached a crisis. A board of Mandamus Counsellors had been created by the King. The judges of the Superior Court were of this number, and, in view of this fact and that Judge Oliver had accepted his salary from the Crown, the jurors of Middlesex and Worcester refused to be sworn or to act at all if that justice attended the court. As a result the courts were closed, not to be opened again until December of the following year, when we enter upon a new era in the history of the bar and of the courts. There were other judges upon the bench and it was almost another bar. "The change was striking," says Willard. "On one page in the records we see the ancient order of names and cases, and on the very next a new system of things rises to view; and then follow the extensive confiscation of the estates of those whom, a few lines back, we found distinguished in the forum, and filling a large space in the community—the Chandlers, James Putnam, Timothy Paine, and Timothy Ruggles." General Artemas Ward was the only one of the justices of the Common Pleas who retained his seat, and there were but two members of the old bar, Judge John Sprague, of Lancaster, and Joshua Upham, of Brookfield.

From 1731 to 1775 there had been but seventeen regular practitioners in the county; Joseph Dwight, of Brookfield; Nahum Ward, of Shrewsbury; Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick; Joshua Eaton, Jr., Christopher Jacob Lawton, of Leicester; Stephen Fessenden, James Putnam, Abel Willard, of Lancaster; Ezra Taylor, of Southborough; Joshua Atherton, of Petersham; Daniel Bliss, of Rutland; Joshua Upham, of Brookfield; John Sprague, of Lancaster; Rufus Chandler, Daniel Oliver, of Hardwick; Nathaniel Chandler, of Petersham; Elijah William, of Mendon.

During the years of the Revolution nine new attorneys had begun to practice here; Levi Lincoln, admitted in Hampshire, was clerk of the courts in 1776, Judge of Probate from 1777 to 1781; Attorney-General of the United States under Jefferson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth in 1807, and Acting Governor after the death of Governor Sullivan in 1808; William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow, who were the publishers of the *Spy* for a time; Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for 35 years; Nathan Tyler, Dwight Foster, William Caldwell, William Sever, and Peter Clark.

Of the seventeen named, Joseph Dwight took the oath of attorney in 1731 at the first court session held in Worcester County. He had won the title of Brigadier-General in the French and Indian wars; represented Brookfield in the General Court, and was elevated to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas in 1843. Nahum Ward, a resident of Shrewsbury, became a Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1745; his son Artemas, and grandson of the same name, also were Worcester judges. The first Artemas is better known to fame as a general of the Revolution, and for his brave stand when barred from the Worcester Courthouse by the bayonets of armed insurgents during the Shays' Rebellion. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, a

Harvard graduate, practiced in several courts before coming to Worcester. He was a Chief Justice in the Common Pleas Court and one of the great men of his day. He was a Loyalist, however, and migrated to Canada in 1776. Joshua Eaton, of Leicester, practiced law but a short time before becoming a minister. Christopher Jacob Lawton, of Leicester, was an experienced attorney before coming to Worcester. Stephen Fessenden opened a law office in Worcester in 1743. James Putnam, once called "the best lawyer in America" was once Attorney-General of the Province, but was a Royalist and later was a judge in the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, Canada.

Abel Willard, of Lancaster, admitted to the Worcester bar, in 1755, was a member of the first law partnership in the county, Willard and Sprague. John Sprague of Lancaster, the other partner was the first attorney to be appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, after the Revolution. Other justices had been so elevated, but it was then still exceptional for a lawyer to be elevated to the bench. "During the forty years of Colonial court history, only three lawyers were appointed to the judiciary of Worcester County." Of the partners, Willard remained loyal to his oath to the Crown, while Sprague cast his lot with the revolutionists. Ezra Taylor practiced law in Southborough from 1751 to 1774, but later went to Maine. Joshua Atherton learned his law from James Putnam, and practiced for a short time in Petersham. He became the Attorney-General of Massachusetts in later years. Daniel Bliss was a lawyer of Rutland until he fled the Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, another Loyalist, practiced in Brookfield. Rufus and Nathaniel Chandler, of the anti-Revolutionary legal practitioners in Worcester County, were the sons of John Chandler, Jr., and the grandsons of John Chandler, of Woodstock, Chief Justice of the first courts in Worcester. John Chandler also was elevated to the bench, but only Rufus and Nathaniel were lawyers. Nathaniel was an exile of the Revolution who never returned, but Rufus, after service with the British, in 1784 came back to Petersham.

Judge Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster, who was one of the four Common Pleas justices at the first Worcester County court session in 1731, succeeded Judge Chandler as Chief Justice in 1740. William Ward, of Southborough, was Common Pleas Justice from 1731 until 1745, and the other original justice, William Jennison, of Worcester, served until his death in 1741. Samuel Willard, grandson of the famous Major Simon Willard, took his place. Judge Willard also gained distinguished military record; he died in 1752, and Major Jonas Rice, who in 1714 was the sole inhabitant of Worcester, took his seat as Justice of Common Pleas, dying three years later. Captain Edward Hartwell, a brave and capable military officer, of Lancaster and Lunenburg, succeeded Judge Dwight in 1750, and Thomas Steele, of Leicester,

was appointed in 1755 to the place of Judge Rice. John Chandler, Jr., was Chief Justice in 1757, when Esquire Ruggles was the junior member of the court; five years later, Judge Ruggles became Chief Justice, Thomas Steele of Leicester, Joseph Wilder, Jr., of Lancaster, and Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury, being his associate justices. Judge Wilder died in 1773, but there was no other change in the Bench until 1774, when all the courts were closed, most of the judiciary going into exile. No doubt the courts leaned upon the opinions of the only two Worcester County lawyers available in 1775, Joshua Upham of Brookfield, and John Sprague of Lancaster. Still, the court was able and discerning; Judge Foster manifested fine judgment, and soon gained an estimable reputation for probity, wisdom, and impartiality. He was advanced to the Superior Court of Judicature in 1776, being in fact the first Worcester County man to reach that high dignity in the judiciary. Judge Gill eventually became Lieutenant-Governor. Joseph Dorr of Mendon, who succeeded Judge Foster on the Common Pleas bench, was a man of painstaking thoroughness, loyal, conscientious and self-sacrificing in his public service; he continued as justice for twenty-five years. Eventually, he lived at Brookfield, where he died in 1808.

Attorney Dwight Foster, son of Judge Foster, was offered the vacant seat on the Common Pleas bench when Judge Gill became Lieutenant-Governor, but he declined the honor, and Michael Gill, nephew of Moses, was appointed. Judge Baker served for twenty years, Elijah Brigham of Westborough being appointed after the death of the former in 1795. Judge Brigham had had a notable career, but was not a lawyer; he had studied divinity, had been a merchant, and in public service had successfully and successively been Senator, Councillor, and Member of Congress. He showed good qualities as a jurist, going out of office in 1811. Dwight Foster was the second lawyer appointed to the Common Pleas Bench after the Revolution; he was appointed in 1801, a year after John Sprague, the only other lawyer on the bench, had taken his seat. He succeeded Sprague as Chief Justice in 1813, and presided over that court until his death, ten years later. Judge Foster's public record is one term as High Sheriff, three terms as Congressman, and a term as United States Senator. Judge Benjamin Heywood, who ably served as a Common Pleas Justice from 1891 until the court was abolished in 1811, was "the last judge of any of the higher courts of this county who was not educated for the legal profession." Heywood was a carpenter by trade, though he might have become a lawyer, had not the Harvard court he had begun been interrupted by the outbreaking of war. For some years he was town treasurer of Worcester.

Of the nine new attorneys of the Revolution, as named by Benjamin Thomas Hill, among leaders in later years was Levi Lincoln, of whom Judge

Willard wrote: "He was without question at the head of the bar from the close of the Revolution until he left our courts at the commencement of the present century." Lincoln was variously clerk of the courts, Judge of Probate, Attorney-General of the United States under Jefferson. Other notables of the last quarter of the eighteenth century were: Judge of Probate, Nathaniel Paine, who once had more professional business than any other member of the bar; Chief Justice of the Court of Sessions, Seth Hastings of Mendon; William Stedman of Lancaster, United States Senator; Pliny Merrick of Brookfield, and his son, Judge Pliny Merrick, Justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; Benjamin Adams of Mendon, Congressman; Francis Blake, born in Rutland; Solomon Strong, who succeeded Judge Edward Bangs as Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and practiced law in four Worcester County towns. Levi Lincoln, son of the Lincoln whose name heads this paragraph, was a worthy scion of a great family. "He had acquired a position at the bar second to none in the Commonwealth," prior to his elevation to the bench of the Supreme Court. He was Governor of the State for nine years, declining reëlection to enter Congress. Much could be written of this remarkable native of Worcester. John Davis of Northborough and Worcester was a contemporary of the second Levi Lincoln, and according to Judge Paine "he had more common sense than any three lawyers of his acquaintance." He was also Governor of Massachusetts, and United States Senator.

This roster has carried us well on into the early quarter of 1800, and names become more numerous. Nutt reviews the lives of Joseph Thayer, prominent in all phases of Uxbridge and Worcester life for a half-century; Judge Ira M. Barton of Oxford, Isaac Davis, politically prominent, and Mayor of Worcester; Judge Willard of Lancaster, one of the best of the older historians of the bench and bar of Worcester County; the much quoted Judge Emory Washburn of Leicester carried on this work ably, and was once Governor of the Commonwealth and won fame as Bussey professor of law in Cambridge. The writer of the chapter on courts and history in Crane's *History of Worcester* (1924) selects for special mention from among the lawyers of the last century: Benjamin Franklin Thomas of Worcester, Judge of Probate, Congressman and a Justice of the Supreme Court at the age of forty; Edward Mellen, Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; Attorney William Nelson Green, judge of the Worcester Police Court for the twenty years it existed; Peter Child Bacon of Dudley, a prominent figure in the courts for half a century; Judge of Probate, Henry Chapin, native of Upton, and later mayor of Worcester; Alexander Hamilton Bullock of Royalston, thrice Governor; Francis H. Dewey was third of his name to hold a judgeship, both his father and grandfather being justices of the Supreme

Judicial Court; Hartley Williams, judge of the Worcester Municipal Court and its successor; Dwight Foster of Worcester, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and Attorney-General of the State; George F. Verry, mayor of Worcester and able criminal lawyer; Judge of Probate, Adin Thayer of Mendon.

No adequate recognition has yet been given to such men as General Charles Devens, notable in the Civil War, a justice of the Superior Court, Supreme Court, and United States Attorney-General to President Hayes; Judge P. Emory Aldrich, lawyer, educator, editor, and his son, Charles Francis Aldrich, both of Worcester—to the latter, the present and all interested in the history of the judiciary and bar are indebted for his splendid chapter in Hurd's history of 1889. Then there is John D. Washburn, relative of Governor Emory Washburn, already mentioned; Justice of the Superior Court, Francis Almon Gaskill, native of Blackstone; Harry Cowdray Hartwell, of Fitchburg; William S. B. Hopkins, and his partners, Peter C., and Henry Bacon, and Frank B. Smith; Edward Conant of Worcester, Henry Langdon, another outstanding Worcester lawyer; United States Judge Thomas Nelson, Judge W. R. R. Rice, and Senator Hoar, were sometime associates—Judge Nelson is responsible for the splendid Worcester County Law Library. George Frisbie Hoar began his law career in Worcester in 1849, but became a national figure during his thirty-five years in Washington, twenty-seven of which he was a leader in the United States Senate. Of the present century are: Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, Arthur Prentice Rugg, so elevated in 1911; former mayor of Worcester, Philip J. O'Connell; Webster Thayer, native of Blackstone; Winfred Holt Whiting, born in West Boylston, all on the bench of the Superior Court; Judge Samuel Utley, Judge William T. Forbes, Judge Frederick H. Chamberlain, Colonel Theodore Johnson, from 1871 to 1922, clerk of the courts of Worcester County; Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Walter Perley Hall, of Fitchburg; District Attorney Emerson W. Baker; and literally hundreds of others who have contributed importantly to the bench and bar of their generation. No roster can do justice to the personnel of our courts, upon the bench or appearing before it. Fortunately, in the biographical volumes of this work there are ample authentic reviews of the lives of a great number of the living members of the legal profession, and to a great extent of the outstanding personages of former generations.

Much history on which there is no new angle of view has been omitted from this chapter because of its narrative purpose—courthouses and jails, bar associations and fraternal relations, race elements in the bar and standards of admission to the bar, trends towards the organization of large firms, the evolution of methods of practice, changing tendencies in litigation and the

prosecution of criminals. We use the ending of Frank W. Grinnell, who, in Hart's *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* relates a story which, summarized, is that Charles Allen of Worcester, first Chief Justice of the Superior Court (1859-67) was noted for an impartiality equal to that of Lord Lyndhurst, famous English justice. Upon an occasion Lord Lyndhurst started muttering to himself as a counsel began his argument before him, "What a fool the man is." As the argument proceeded further, he grumbled, "Not such a fool as I thought." When the argument was closed, he exclaimed, "Egad, I was the fool myself." As the story goes, William Crapo, as a young man, was trying a case before Chief Justice Allen and a jury, and the verdict was against him. Mr. Crapo moved for a new trial on the ground "that the presiding judge was physically and mentally incompetent to hear the case at the time of the trial." In the words of Grinnell: "Chief Justice Allen listened attentively to the argument for a new trial and, after considering the matter for a few days, granted the motion on the grounds stated! Shortly after he resigned from the bench. The explanation of the story is that he was not well; and he knew it and was fair enough to admit it." This is an account of a standard of judicial impartiality of which Massachusetts and Worcester County may be justly proud.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Newspapers

The annals of the secular press in Worcester cover a period of one hundred and fifty-nine years. They record such interesting facts as the first printing done in an inland town of Massachusetts, the survival of the city's first newspaper from 1775 to 1904, the rise of the present leading journal of Worcester whose ancestors can be traced back to the first year of the nineteenth century, and incidents in the lives of a notable line of proprietors, publishers and editors, not the least among whom was the earliest and versatile Isaiah Thomas. In general, however, the history of the press during the first century and more, is more or less a story of the coming and going of a wide number and variety of newspapers, editors and publishers. Papers were born and interred, often before they had an opportunity to play much of a part in public affairs. An enterprising editor or printer attracted to this thriving section of the State, set up his printing press, or took over the burdens another had laid down, and struggling against increasing odds would finally succumb to financial embarrassment. Journalism was a speculation dependent for success upon public support. The circulation of a paper was mainly local as was also its minute quantity of news; the readers were few and usually more interested in their own picturesque verbal gossip than in the material ladled out in print. Worcester was a graveyard of newspapers.

It is well to remember that the making of newspapers has advanced fully as greatly as any other industry. Whereas the present city daily is a huge department store of news and other features, supplied by men from all over the world through a network of telegraph and telephone wires, not to mention cable and radio facilities, the early Worcester sheets were usually four-page quartos, sometimes enlarged to four-page folios, containing a few belated news items, brief local personals and some labored editorials, "poems," and literary effusions. The old-time newspaper had no illustrations, now so prominently featured; there were no news services or syndicates, general

news being taken from coastal journals whose receipt was often long delayed. Our early newspapers were principally exponents of the personal brand of journalism, and politics was the main subject of editorial treatment. No apologies need be made for the "Fourth Estate" of any period. The activities of the press went hand in hand with the development which it chronicled. The efforts of earnest patriotic journalists have done a great deal to advance the interests of the city and county. The story of the press furnishes another proof that it, alongside the pulpit and the schoolroom, has battled for freedom and right, furnishing increasing intelligence to the masses and thus marking the constant and continuous growth in ideals and principles, without which no community could survive. Further, because the press chronicles contemporary history, current information, local comment and opinions, it is one of the most interesting and important sources of history. The past tense has been used deliberately in these introductory paragraphs, because what follows deals chiefly with the past, with the foundations upon which the highly specialized press of the present century has been builded. The veteran editor of the Worcester *Telegram and The Evening Gazette,* George F. Booth, a dozen years ago remarked:

"Times have changed now with the starting and publishing of newspapers. It is not today a matter of ardent spirit and small capital carrying the torch of journalistic light; but of a large financial resource. The capital employed in a successful newspaper in a city like Worcester today runs into hundreds of thousands and beyond. A successful newspaper in a city of 200,000 is now a million-dollar, and better, enterprise."

The American Antiquarian Society over a period of a century and more has accumulated one of the complete collections of files of early American newspapers in the United States. The society, although national in scope and membership, is peculiarly a Worcester organization, founded and endowed there, and the city remains its true home and physical headquarters. The man who suggested the formation of this society, and the first to give it practical entity, was one Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the city's first newspaper, *The Spy.* Thomas was of Boston birth, who was apprenticed to a printer at the age of six, and was a journeyman printer from Halifax, Canada, to Charleston, South Carolina. He returned to his native town, where on July 17, 1770, he printed the first copy of *The Massachusetts Spy.* The policy of the paper was neutrality, as regards the Royalists and Whigs, the conflicting interests of the Colonies and England. Within a year he had fallen from his lofty perch, and the Royalists were calling his printing office a "sedition foundry." Three years before the Revolution he ended an article with the words:

"Should the liberty of the press be once destroyed, farewell the remainder of our invaluable rights and privileges! We may next expect padlocks on our lips, fetters on our legs, and only our hands left at liberty to slave for our *worse than Egyptian taskmasters,* or—or—FIGHT OUR WAY TO CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM!"

Isaiah Thomas and *The Spy* became increasingly unpopular with the Royalists, then in the majority in Boston. This condition was not eased when in 1774 he changed the title of his paper to *The Massachusetts Spy and Oracle of American Liberty,* and used as the caption of his sheet, the snake and dragon device, taken from what probably was the first American cartoon, that published by Benjamin Franklin in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 9, 1754. The snake was divided into ten parts above which were the words, "Join or Die," while the dragon stood by ready to attack. The snake stood for the Colonies, of course, and the dragon for England.

In 1774 Isaiah Thomas had been urged by Worcester Whigs to start a newspaper in their town, and had consented to do so a year later. He was delayed in keeping this promise by his endeavors to keep one step ahead of his numerous enemies and his underground activities in the cause of revolution. Thomas Hancock addressed him: "Isaiah Thomas, Supporter of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind," but a British regiment paraded before the printing plant, and Loyalists in the South burned his paper and his effigy. It was on the advice of Hancock that he finally decided that it was wise to move his press and his crusade to Worcester. On April 16, 1775, Thomas packed his printing press and equipment, assisted by General Joseph Warren and Colonel Timothy Bigelow, and "stole them out of town in the dead of night." He remained behind in Boston, where he was active in sending out news of the intended march of the British, and took part in the fighting that caused the retreat from Concord.

On April 20 Isaiah Thomas arrived in Worcester, and set up his press in the cellar of Colonel Bigelow's house. Here he did the first printing done in any inland town in New England. The first Worcester issue of the *Spy,* bears the date May 3, 1775. Its title was *The Massachusetts Spy, American Oracle of Liberty.* Had the British delayed their offensive on Lexington a few weeks and the *Spy* had printed its "scoop" in modern style, what headlines might have ornamented its front page! Imagine the sales appeal of newsboys crying: "All about the great victory! British in full retreat! Worcester Minutemen leave for the front!" The *Spy* would have been made with its initial copy. The name of Worcester's first paper was changed to *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy and American Oracle of Liberty,* with the issue of August 16, 1775. Thomas stopped publishing his sheet with the

May 3, 1776, number, but after an interval of two weeks it was continued by William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow under the title *The Massachusetts Spy and American Oracle of Liberty.* From August 14, 1777, it was printed by Anthony Haswell, as *Haswell's Massachusetts Spy and American Oracle of Freedom.* No publisher believed in anonymity. Thomas again took over the newspaper with the copy of May 24, 1781, and changed its name to *Thomas' Massachusetts Spy, or The Worcester Gazette.* With the issue of March 30, 1786, Isaiah Thomas discontinued printing his paper because the State had imposed a tax on advertising. Such a tax was a strange way in which to raise governmental expenses, and one thoroughly displeasing to the newspaper fraternity, who already knew that the profit, if any, in the game was that derived from advertisements. The proprietor of the *Spy-Gazette,* in April, 1786, started what he called the *Worcester Magazine* but when the tax mentioned was removed in March, 1788, he brought out promptly the *Massachusetts Spy and Worcester Gazette,* and so continued until 1820. For fifty years the prolific and versatile Isaiah Thomas had a finger in every local pie, and also found the time to compile and publish his celebrated work on the *History of Printing in America.* This was printed in 1810; its author died in Worcester in 1831, at the age of eighty-two years.

This chronological account of the early history of the *Spy,* and the rôle played by Isaiah Thomas has been given because of its priority in Worcester and for the reason that when it suspended publication, on May 31, 1904, it ranked among the three or four oldest newspapers in the United States. If any publication died of the infirmities of old age, the *Spy* was it, for "It lived too much in the past, never quite forgetting its ancestry. It had a distinguished list of editors, but it did not recognize changing conditions of business, changing conditions of publishing newspapers, changes which were going on in the retail establishments, nor the quickening of trade, nor the changing populations of American cities, of which Worcester was no exception." This indictment might be amplified by pointing out that the immediate cause of its decease was its inability to retain its place as a morning newspaper in a city which in the late 1880's was not inclined to support two dailies. In the battle waged for supremacy between the *Spy* and the *Telegram,* the less fitted for up-to-date conditions failed to survive. The *Spy* was by a month, the second daily in Worcester, the *Daily Transcript* (first of the name) getting out its first issue on June 23, 1845. A few years later the *Daily Transcript* was taken over by the *Spy,* leaving the latter named the oldest, and only, daily in the city. It soon had competition, however, for the decade 1845-55 was one in which daily newspapers sprang up in all the larger cities of the East.

The *Spy* weathered a long series of vicissitudes, despite substantial owners and a line of brilliant editors. The Baldwin family, John D. Baldwin, nationally known political power, and his sons, John S., and Charles C. Baldwin, owned the journal from 1859 to 1898. Among its editors were John Davis, John Milton Earl, Anthony Chase, Delano Goddard, J. Evarts Greene, John Perley Monroe, and Charles Nutt. The *Spy* was sold by the Baldwins in 1898 to William S. Walker, who shortly later resold it to Mr. Nutt. Charles Nutt was a Harvard graduate, a classmate of Robert Lincoln O'Brien, noteworthy as editor of the *Boston Herald,* and was intellectually capable of carrying on the traditions of the ancient Worcester newspaper. It may be that he paid too much attention to traditions and less to the business of journalism. At any rate, the truly remarkable career of Worcester's first newspaper came to an end on May 31, 1904, at the ripe old age of one hundred and twenty-nine years.

The Worcester newspaper with the longest history is the present leading journal of the city, the *Gazette,* which was, as such things are considered, founded in 1801. Accuracy requires the statement that the *Gazette* is a descendant of a weekly, known as the *National Aegis,* founded on December 2, 1801, to support Jefferson as President. In passing it should be noted that there were two newspapers, each of which lasted for more than a year, started between the founding of the *Massachusetts Spy,* of Thomas, and the *National Aegis.* One of these, the *American Herald and Worcester Recorder* was a migrant from Boston in 1788, and was published in its new home for two years and two months. The other was the *Independent Gazeteer,* founded on January 7, 1800, but which gave up the ghost in December, 1801. Whether there was any connection with the demise of this journal and the birth of the *National Aegis* in the same month and year, the writer does not know.

The *National Aegis* was a truly important weekly in its time and continued so for almost thirty-two years. Alexander H. Bullock, Edward Winslow Lincoln, Governor Levi Lincoln, and Pliny Merrick, were among its owners and editors. It was, like most of the papers of its day, political in origin and purpose. It is fair to say of most of the early newspapers that they were usually born of new ideas, sudden needs, the desire to promote a cause, politics. Continuity of publication was seldom in the minds of their founders. People did not subscribe by the year for the probabilities were against any sheet lasting that long. More remarkable then that the *National Aegis* survived until 1833. Students of newspaper history must not confuse this paper with another of similar title, the difference between the two names being *The National Aegis,* and *National Aegis.* Both were issued as early as 1806, and the story of their differences in origin and qualities is as follows:

"*The National Aegis* was sold to one Samuel Cotting on October 23, 1805. After the issue of December 11, 1805, the former editor, Francis Blake, attached the printing apparatus, and the paper was not able to make another appearance until February 19, 1806. With that issue it was published by the 'Proprietors.' With the issue of March 12, 1806, it appeared in new type and with the title THE NATIONAL AEGIS. With the issue of July 6, 1806, the name of Samuel Cotting appears in the imprint as the publisher. On July 6, 1806, Cotting broke up the forms of the next issue, took away some of the printing apparatus, and began printing on July 9, on a new press in another office a paper which he called NATIONAL AEGIS, continuing the number of the regular paper. The proprietors of the regular *Aegis* were unable to publish a full sized issue July 9, and brought out a single page or 'broadside' with the heading THE NATIONAL AEGIS, published under the direction of a committee of the proprietors. The next issue, July 16, was 'Printed for the proprietors.' There were, therefore, two papers published with the same volume numbering, one called THE NATIONAL AEGIS, printed for the Proprietors, the other NATIONAL AEGIS having succeeded Samuel Brazer in that capacity. The Republicans of Worcester County met on September 4, 1806, and resolved that the 'Trustees' AEGIS' was the genuine paper and that Cotting's paper was spurious. Therefore Cotting survived as publisher, with intermittent publication, only to April 15, 1807."

As a parting blast to the unlamented departed, the "regular *Aegis*" printed this obituary:

"Departed this life on Wednesday the 3rd inst. that corrupt fountain of Billingsgate, detraction and falsehood, deceitfully called *National Aegis* published by Cotting. It was affected with consumption for some time, and his life was long despaired of. No tears were shed at its decease, but by Federalists, by whom it was carressed and nursed with as much care and tenderness as an infant child by its legitimate parents."

The National Aegis, second, or probably, third of the name was before the public from January 24, 1838, to 1857, when it was merged with the *Transcript.* The latter named was not the *Daily Transcript* already mentioned as the first daily in Worcester, but the *Daily Morning Transcript* whose first issue was dated April 1, 1851. The successive editors of this *Transcript* were John L. Clarke, Charles E. Stevens, Edwin Bynner, J. B. Cogswell, Z. K. Panghorn, William R. Hooper and Caleb A. Wall. The *Transcript* later became an evening paper and, on January 1, 1866, was sold to S. D. Bartholomew and Company, the company consisting mainly of Charles A. Chase. The name of the publication was changed to the *Worcester Evening Gazette* and in 1869 sold to a new concern, of whom Charles H. Doe was the

principal owner, the editor and presiding genius. A colleague has written of Mr. Doe and his journal: "He made the paper a high-class journal which appealed to the conservative type of person. It was a good newspaper, but it was not aggressive. He was a good writer but not positive. The *Gazette* prospered under his direction, as prosperity was known in journalism in those days. Everything was on a more modest scale than now." Mr. Doe's health failed, and the paper was sold to Worcester citizens, with David B. Howland, formerly of the *Springfield Republican* as the editor and one of its owners.

In October, 1899, George F. Booth and John D. Jackson, of New Haven, Connecticut, became the proprietors of what is now the oldest and the leading Worcester newspapers, the *Gazette* or *Evening Gazette* of which Mr. Booth has been the editor for more than a third of a century. The further history of this newspaper and of Mr. Booth's connection with it was summarized by himself in an article printed in the *Worcester Sunday Telegram* in 1922, as follows:

"I immediately (October, 1899) took over the sole direction as editor and publisher of the paper and so remained until January, 1921, when we sold the *Gazette* to Mr. Ellis. The paper had at that time a very small circulation. It had at one time, I believe, printed as many as 7,000 copies, but that had fallen down to about 5,000 when we bought it; but really when I looked into the matter I found it was much less than that. It had practically no property. It consisted largely of a name and a certain element of good will.

I cannot, naturally go into any extended story of the *Gazette* which would mean writing a story about myself, which I have no desire to do. Suffice it to say that, instead of the bankrupt newspaper with a circulation of only a few thousands when we bought it, when it was sold some twenty-one years later we had one of the best newspapers published in the East, having a circulation of nearly 35,000 copies. It had a plant complete in every way, modern and generous in size. How this was accomplished without other capital than the original investment—the fights in the public interest which it made, and all the other things that were done to change the paper which had had a more or less moribund existence into the most virile journalistic force in the community, is as Kipling says: 'another story.'"

Before writing of the *Telegram* the sole great survivor in the morning newspaper field, and of the *Post* which was born in 1891, and now divides the evening field with the *Gazette,* some attention must be paid to the middle age of journalism and its numerous births and deaths. The 1840's and the 1850's witnessed the tryouts of many publications, the most of which soon fell by the wayside. The large percentage of these were based on the earlier idea of an organ for every cause no matter how unimportant. The why and

wherefore of the strange increase in newspaper investment, or speculation, in this ante-bellum period has yet to be explained satisfactorily, except to the person making the explanation. Improvement of transportation as evidenced in numerous stagecoach lines, canals, the beginning of railroads, and steamship companies such as the Cunard which entered Boston in 1846 may be the reason. They all made news and for the quicker interchange of news, particularly from Europe. Another would say that the increase of population, particularly from immigrants, enlarged industrial life and prosperity lured the printer and his press to destruction. It may be that persons or towns did some of the luring, as witness the veracious account of journalism in the very good town of Blackstone. It is a matter of record that the local authorities "loaned Oliver Johnson, of New York, the sum of $700 of the town's 'surplus revenue' money for a term of one year 'to enable him to procure a printing press and appurtenances for publishing a newspaper in the town.'" The first issue was of February, 1848, and the last, October, 1848, when the town took over the press and "appurtenances" but did not attempt to revive the paper. Whatever the reason for the multiplication of newspapers, it is evident that the competition between publishers led to the introduction of a number of innovations in journalism. The three ante-bellum decades witnessed the rise of dailies, of the "pennies" or low-priced papers, the newsboy type of distribution, the scare-head and illustrations. There can be small doubt that this middle period of journalism was prolific in papers and new methods of issue.

Mr. Nutt in his *History of Worcester County,* lists many which were called into being prior to the Civil War, but of which few were chosen by the people for any length of service. The *Worcester County Republican* was published by Jubal Harrison from 1829 to 1839 before being absorbed by the *Palladium.* The *Worcester Palladium* was established by J. S. C. Knowlton on January 1, 1834 as a Democratic weekly, but after 1856 was Republican in its politics. The *Worcester Daily Journal* was published from December, 1847, to October, 1849, and the *State Sentinel* was started January 1, 1844. The *Worcester County Gazette,* a weekly, lived from January 1, 1845, to February 27, 1847, and the Worcester *Daily Telegraph* was another of the papers founded in 1847 and had a career of two years or so. All were straight newspapers with political policies well defined. Politics dominated the *Worcester Evening Journal,* which was frankly an organ of the Know-Nothing party; it was published from August 30, 1854, to May 26, 1855. The *Worcester Waterfall* and the *Cataract* were temperance sheets published during the height of the Washingtonian movement, and were continued from 1844 to 1853. The famous "learned blacksmith," Elihu Burritt,

founded his *Christian Citizen* in Worcester in January, 1844, and had a following that enabled the paper to keep going for a Biblical seven years. Its circulation was about four thousand at one time.

It is probable that research into the lost or forgotten annals of the county press outside Worcester would disclose an even larger percentage of newspapers started in 1840-50 era. Although the *Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel* came out in the last week of 1838, it amounted to little until a change of ownership three years later, and was rather feeble until John Garfield took hold of it in 1850. County towns, not already mentioned, with newspapers founded in these years included: Lancaster, *The Courant,* 1846; Leominster, predecessors of the present *Enterprise,* 1842; Westboro, *The Messenger,* 1849; *Transcript,* and the *Westboro Sheaf,* 1856; Barre, *Gazette,* 1838; Milford, had at least two weeklies born in this period; Blackstone, *Chronicle,* as in the preceding paragraph, 1848; Southbridge, *Press,* 1853; and the *Saturday Morning News,* 1859; Webster, *News* 1859; Athol, *White Flag,* and Clinton, *Courant,* 1846.

The greatest single source of news in a century, the Civil War, checked rather than helped the numerical increase of newspapers and brought an end to many in their early years. One odd explanation of this phenomenon has been made—that the "medical advertising, a mainstay of the press," diminished tremendously with the outbreak of war. It is true that the advertising of nostrums was epidemic both before and long after the Rebellion. Charles Dudley Warner, as late as 1881 pointed out how the newspapers "outshine the shelves of the druggist in the display of proprietary medicines." From the journalistic standpoint the "war" gave birth, or impetus, to certain improvements in news reporting. Although Morse had strung his wires between Washington and Baltimore, in 1844, and there was a line from New York to Boston, two years later, it was not until soldiers were on the way to battlefields, that inventors ceased from their quarrels and the telegraph was used widely. Horace Greeley was right when he predicted to Morse after a private demonstration of the telegraph, "You are going to turn the newspaper offices upside down." Speed has always been the thing in journalism. The radio now must serve where the telegraph and the telephone cannot reach. Stenography shortly "before the war," and increasingly so after, became the handmaid of the press.

The events of the 1860's required pictorial treatment, or were given it, and the era of the full page spread began. This period has also been accused of begetting "yellow journalism," although it simply brightened the color that was present in newspapers from the beginning. The war, with its special news on seven days a week, gave rise to Sunday extras, the precursor of the voluminous Sunday editions of today. The Worcester *Spy* and the *Gazette*

or *Transcript* as it was known until 1869, patterned their publications after their large city brothers, and many of their war issues are worthy of a place in a hall of fame. They were seldom "scooped" in news that was important. The aftermath of the Civil War with its rapid fluctuations of prosperity and panic held the birth and growth of newspapers in check for some years, and the founding of journals in the county as a whole did not make up for the failures. These very fluctations, however, eventually started a boom in advertising which was the salvation of many a feeble newspaper. The boom, of course, was coincident with the rise of big business, the department store, and the railroad and public utilities, all of which bought a large amount of newspaper space. As after the World War everything exploitable or saleable found its way into the newspapers, great and small, although again the city dailies skimmed the cream.

Two more newspapers survived for a time in the 70's and 80's. *Worcester Daily Press* was founded April 1, 1873, and continued until 1878. It was published by E. R. Fiske.

In 1879 the *Worcester Times* was established by James H. Mellen as a Democratic organ. Mr. Mellen was intimately associated politically with Eugene M. Moriarty and the two wielded a good deal of influence in the Massachusetts Legislature of which both were members. The *Times* was founded to further the political aspirations of Mr. Mellen. It survived until 1889. Mr. Mellen thereafter throughout most of his life succeeded politically and remained in the Legislature. Mr. Moriarty on the other hand withdrew from political life and became the first successful editor of the *Post,* as related elsewhere.

Two of the three large dailies of Worcester were established in 1884 and 1891, and a surprisingly large number of the present day newspapers in the county were founded during the last fifteen years of the past century.

The *Worcester Telegram,* a Sunday paper of 1884 and a daily from May, 1886, became the newspaper with the largest circulation in Central Massachusetts. Its present editor, and the editor of the *Evening Gazette* since 1890, George Francis Booth, wrote briefly of this paper in 1923:

"The story of the *Telegram,* from its birth up to now is known to many of the present generation, for it started and reached its great growth and magnificent prosperity all within the lifetime of its founder, who laid down his journalistic cares only a couple of years ago to enjoy, without the hurly-burly which newspaper life entails, a handsome fortune.

"The *Sunday Telegram* started November 30, 1884, and the morning *Telegram* May 19, 1886. The story of the *Telegram* is not only one of the resources of journalism, but is one of the romances of business success here

in Worcester which was told and retold many times while Mr. Cristy still held the reins of destiny over the property he had created.

"Austin P. Cristy started the *Telegram* literally on a shoestring, as the saying goes. He had practically no money, little backing, and nothing but his indomitable will and determination to succeed. The *Sunday Telegram* met with such success that in less than two years he established the daily edition. In a rich and prosperous city he launched his journalistic bark without previous knowledge of the business.

"He recognized what others did not and what the other newspapers then published certainly did not, the changing conditions in journalism, the new order of things. Both the *Spy* and the *Gazette* and the little known *Times* were asleep. Mr. Cristy was not then so much the genius in journalism as he later became. He simply had more vigor and energy, more persistence, did things which surprised the complacent souls who owned and were directing the other papers.

"They did not fight him; they ignored him. They ignored him so long that when they did take notice it was too late. Mr. Cristy was entrenched. The *Telegram* had a firm footing. One after the other of Worcester newspapers felt the force of his vigorous competition and passed into other hands. From the time Mr. Cristy got going until some time after the *Gazette* passed into the control of my partner and myself, no other newspaper in Worcester made a dollar.

"Mr. Cristy was always the surprise of Worcester. He was an enigma, and perhaps Worcester never received a greater shock or surprise than when the announcement came from a clear sky that he had sold the paper to Mr. Ellis, who came into a magnificent property.

"The *Telegram-Gazette* combination makes one of the most valuable newspaper properties in the whole United States. Mr. Ellis showed great courage and foresight in putting together his two-million-dollar combination, and, as these papers have made history in the past, they will under his direction make history again. They wield a tremendous influence and made Mr. Ellis a factor that must be considered not only in Worcester, but in Massachusetts."

In December, 1925, George F. Booth and Harry G. Stoddard purchased the *Worcester Telegram* and *The Evening Gazette* from Mr. Ellis. Mr. Booth is editor and publisher of the two dailies which he has successfully directed and developed until their combined circulation is well over 100,000 copies daily. Mr. Stoddard is president of the corporation.

The third of the English-printed dailies of Worcester, the *Post,* of which George F. Richardson is the editor, was founded on September 23, 1891. Of the early history of this paper one might unfold a tale of high times and low,

poverty and riches, heroics and the ridiculous. John H. Johnson, a lawyer who had come into some money purchased a "country press" which he installed in a store and basement on Church Street. He induced some practical journalists and journeymen printers to take a chance with him. A four-page newspaper was turned out by a press that was an antique and broke down when most needed. John Johnson's funds lasted less than a year, and the plant was taken over by Oscar W. Wiggin and W. K. Knight, experienced printers. A Stonemetz press and stereotype outfit was installed and the offices, still in the old building, began to hum with industry even though the honey failed to accumulate. It is said that often the owners had to keep the staff waiting for enough of their wages to keep life and clothes intact while they marketed the last gross of patent medicines taken in as payment for an advertisement.

Fred Merrigold, in the third year of the *Post* invested some money in it and was its directing genius for a time. Fire all but destroyed the printing plant on Church Street, and debts piled up until it was taken over by the principal debtor, the *Connecticut Associated Press.* Frank Hinman, John H. Fahey, and others of the New Haven office of the *Connecticut Associated Press,* all had a hand in operating the *Post* until Peter Conlin purchased the mortgage and the control of the destinies of the paper. This marked the beginning of better days and the building of a sound and successful journal. In 1897 Eugene M. Moriarty was sold a half-interest by Mr. Conlin. The first named was a power in city and State politics. He was a fine public speaker, an authority on many phases of finance, industry and politics; he appreciated news values, was a raconteur of the first water, and a trenchant writer. At the time of the death of Mr. Moriarty, on August 26, 1907, the *Post* was a paying property—a monument to a decade of devoted difficult work. His wife took over the editorial duties of the newspaper, and with Peter Conlin, kept the journal moving along on the high road of success. In February, 1914, the *Post* was sold to John H. Fahey, he who had been manager of the New Haven office of the *Connecticut Associated Press* in the 1890's when the newspaper had been taken over by that organization. During the intervening years Mr. Fahey had been the manager of the Boston office of the Associated Press, and editor and publisher of the *Boston Traveler.* "The news first, and first of all the news" was his slogan, and during his régime the *Post* built, and moved into, splendid new quarters on Federal Street. Reviews of the lives of Mr. Moriarty and John H. Fahey can be found in the biographical volumes of this history. *The Post* is published evenings, except Sundays.

Worcester and Fitchburg are the headquarters of noteworthy groups of publications, all but three of which are printed weekly, and several carry their

news in languages other than English. Both cities have a population of foreign birth or origin of about thirty-two per cent. In Worcester is the *Catholic Messenger,* the *Labor News, Svea, Amerikos Lieturis,* and the *Eteenpain.* There were, for many years, French-language publications, the widest known of which was *L'Opinion Publique,* a daily. The *Catholic Messenger* issued on Thursdays, is a semi-religious paper, founded in 1887. S. Joseph Crahan has been its editor for a long period. The *Labor News* which comes out on each Friday, is what its name implies and does its work well. It was started in 1906 by its present editor and owner, Freeman M. Saltus, and has a circulation above five thousand copies weekly. *Svea* (Swedish) is the successor of several Scandinavian weeklies, notably the *Scandanavia.* It is almost forty years old. *Amerikos Lieturis,* founded in 1907, is printed in Greek and issued on Saturday. It is edited by J. Loenaite, and has a circulation approaching five thousand. *Eteenpain* (Finnish) has been a morning paper, except Monday, since 1921. Its editor is David Heino; its circulation about ten thousand. *Liberte,* the French weekly, published in Fitchburg, is probably the widest read paper of its kind in Worcester County. It was started in 1918, and is edited by L. A. Remy. *Raivaaja* (Pioneer) is the fine Finnish evening daily of Fitchburg, founded in 1905.

The *Fitchburg Sentinel,* the oldest brother of them all, under the able leadership of George H. Godbeer, president of the company and editor of the paper, has come to rank among the outstanding dailies of the Commonwealth. John Garfield was the great man in Fitchburg newspaper annals of a hundred years ago. A trained and experienced printer rather than writer, in the summer of 1836 he entered the printing business in Fitchburg. He purchased the press and equipment of the *Worcester County Courier,* which had made its first appearance in May, 1834, and had suspended on May 16, two years later. The *Courier* had been preceded by the *Fitchburg Gazette,* which was issued from October 19, 1830, for three years and a half. The pioneers of the newspaper industry differed from the later-day publishers in that they buried the mistakes and the weaklings, instead of trying to revive them. Hence it is that one paper would follow another, printed by the same press and run by the same man, but with a different title page. Thus we have the *Gazette,* the *Worcester County Courier* the *Fitchburg Worcester County Courier, The Fitchburg Times* and the *Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,* all published one after the other, and, with the possible exception of the first, printed in the same plant. The last three were owned by the same John Garfield. Ezra W. Reed was the editor of this *Weekly Sentinel,* whose first copy, dated December 20, 1838, consisted of four pages, each 13x19; three of its twenty narrow columns were devoted to advertising, or the same space given to an

accompanying article on education clipped from a New York paper. The career of the *Sentinel* is less checkered than most, but there were the usual ups and downs and changes of ownership and editors. John Garfield, with various partners, was connected with the weekly from 1838 to 1871. In March, 1873, the Sentinel Printing Company was formed, and on the sixth day of that month the first daily edition went on sale. The principal owner of the *Sentinel,* from 1871 to 1900, was William Stratton. On April 1, 1903, the company was reorganized with John E. Kellogg, as the largest holder of stock, and president, with Mrs. Maria S. Stratton, retaining her husband's interest. Other members of the company were George H. Godbeer, Sidney Sibley, Frank C. Hoyt, and William R. Rankin, all lifelong employees on the paper. In October, 1920, Godbeer, Hoyt and Rankin acquired all the stock in the company, of which George H. Godbeer has since been president and editor of the *Sentinel.* The *Weekly Sentinel* discontinued publication in March, 1922. It is typical of New England journalism that the weekly editions of a daily newspaper gradually leave the picture.

The statistically inclined would have little difficulty in proving that while there had been an ebb and flood in the rise and fall of newspapers in the county, coincident with the ebb and flood of prosperity, the tendency through most of the present century has been towards the increase of dailies at the expense of weeklies, and that there has been a sharp decline in the number of weeklies published in the smaller cities and towns, a decrease particularly marked since the World War. In 1930 there were eleven daily papers in Worcester County and fewer than twenty secular weeklies. A list of the present newspapers in the county, not already named, together with the date of founding and editor in 1933 include: Athol, *Chronicle* (1866), H. Burr Eldredge; *Transcript* (1871), J. C. Hill, editor and publisher; Clinton, *Courant* (1846), *Evening Item* (1893), H. F. Hartwell editing both papers until two years ago; Barre, *Gazette* (The *Farmers' Gazette* of 1834), Charles W. Pierce; Brookfield, *Union* (1891), and Leicester, *Banner* (1892) both edited and published by William J. Heffernan; Gardner, *News* (1896), W. E. Hubbard; Leominster, *Enterprise* (1873), Nathan H. Gist; Milford, which had two dailies and three weeklies at the beginning of the present century, now has the *Evening News* (1877), W. D. Leahy, editor; Millbury, *Journal* (1893), Charles F. Holman; Spencer, *Leader* (1891) W. J. Heffernan; Southbridge, whose early papers included the *Reformer and Moralist* (January 28, 1828), *Register* (1829) and *Village Courier* (1832), now has the *Southbridge Press* (1891), George Grant, and *Evening News* (1923), V. V. McNitt; Uxbridge, *Times* (1929), Russell Krapp; Webster, *Evening Times* (daily from 1923 to 1934 and now bi-weekly), Laurence J. Daley, editor, who published the *Webster Weekly Times,* founded in 1859; Westboro, *Chrono-*

type (1864), Harry H. Bloss; Winchendon, *Courier* (1878), H. Burr Eldredge. There are several towns supplied by weeklies published outside the county. The fourth estate of the smaller places and infrequent publication has been a rich source from which has been drawn many leaders in the journalism of the larger cities of the State and the country. In these modern times of big business and financial depression the *croix de guerre* should be awarded to the gallant survivors, and laurels to the men of a former day who, undismayed by the failures of others, kept burning the "torch of journalistic light."

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Banks of Worcester County

Worcester County had no banking facilities of any kind, excepting as citizens might make connection with Boston banks, until the year 1804, when the Worcester Bank was established. In fact, until that time there was no bank, commercial or savings, in all Massachusetts west of Boston. Worcester was the county seat and centrally located. Therefore when a group of Worcester men secured a charter from the State Legislature to organize and conduct a bank, it was regarded as a county institution, and such it proved to be, for it had customers in all the important towns and agricultural districts.

A commercial bank in those days was not one where deposits cut an important figure. In 1805, a year after opening its door for business, the total deposits of the Worcester Bank were $166, while its loans and discounts totalled $185,645. Customers needed a bank for the financial accommodations it could give them, and these the rapidly growing manufacturing industries demanded. As for their cash, their own strong boxes took care of that. The importance of this bank in the business life of the shire may be realized from the fact it was the only bank for more than twenty years.

No better measure of the substantial growth of Worcester County can be found than in its financial resources. A little more than a century and a quarter ago, residents of the county had on deposit less than $200. Today deposits held by commercial mutual savings and coöperative banks, under normal conditions, are close to $500,000,000—nearly $1,000 per capita—for each individual man, woman and child, five times the total deposits of 1804.

These figures spell the business enterprise and success of those who have conducted the commercial and industrial interests of the county, and the thrift of those who have worked for and with them. It is an astonishing example of human progress.

Worcester Bank Established—On the evening of December 18, 1803, a number of gentlemen met at Barker's Tavern, Worcester, with Isaiah Thomas presiding, and voted that it would be advantageous to the county to have a bank established at Worcester; and that as soon as one thousand shares should be subscribed for, at one hundred dollars a share, an application should be made to the Legislature for an act of incorporation; and that the subscription paper should be opened at Barker's tavern on the first Tuesday of January following. Benjamin Heywood, Francis Blake, Isaiah Thomas, William Paine and Daniel Waldo, Jr., were chosen a committee to secure the subscriptions and call a meeting of the subscribers for organization.

Advertisements in the *Aegis* and the Massachusetts *Spy,* headed "A Country Bank," set forth that "an association of gentlemen belonging to the town of Worcester, having contemplated the advantages which would accrue to the agricultural, commercial and mechanical interests of the county from the establishment of a bank in the town of Worcester," had appointed a committee to invite subscriptions from the citizens of the county, and gave notice of the place and manner in which subscriptions might be made. The response to this call was so liberal, that it was found that one hundred and eighty-three subscribers had applied for a total of twenty-six hundred and twelve shares. These subscriptions were graded down to fifteen hundred by a committee, and application was made for a charter with a capital of $150,000, instead of the sum first proposed. The charter was granted March 7, 1804: "An act to incorporate Daniel Waldo and others by the name and stile of the President, Directors and Company of the Worcester Bank."

The corporators, besides the committee, were Daniel Waldo, Sr., Stephen Salisbury, Nathan Patch, William Henshaw, Nathaniel Paine, and Elijah Burbank. The charter which was to run for eight years from October 1, 1804, provided that the whole amount of capital should be paid in before March 1, 1805; that the bank might hold real estate for banking purposes to the amount of $20,000; that neither their circulation nor their loans should at any time exceed twice their capital stock actually paid in and existing in gold and silver in their vaults. No bills could be issued of a less value than five dollars, and none between five and ten dollars; and the Commonwealth reserved the right to become an owner in the stock to an amount not exceeding $50,000 of additional stock to be created.

As there were no savings banks then in existence, it was also provided that one-eighth part of the whole funds of the bank should always be appropriated to loans to the "agricultural interest," of not less than one hundred dollars or more than five hundred dollars each, and for a term not less than one year; and the bank was bound to loan to the State, whenever required by

the Legislature, any sum not exceeding $15,000, reimbursable in five annual installments and at a rate of interest not exceeding five per cent.

The charter was accepted at a meeting of subscribers to the stock, held April 10, 1804. At the same meeting Daniel Waldo, Benjamin Heywood, Samuel Flagg, Isaiah Thomas, Daniel Waldo, Jr., Theophilus Wheeler and Samuel Chandler were elected directors. Daniel Waldo was the original president, but a few months later his son, Daniel Waldo, Jr., succeeded him. The directors elected Levi Thaxter as cashier and Robert B. Brigham as accountant, with the understanding that they should "enter themselves at some bank in the town of Boston, to be instructed at their own expense, in the duties of their respective offices." It was voted to erect a bank building, Mr. Waldo was authorized "to contract with Peter Marsh and Tarrus King of Sutton, and Daniel Hearsy, of Worcester, bricklayers, to work at $1.58⅓ per day, board and liquor included." A brick building was erected on the easterly side of Main Street, near the head of Exchange Street, on the site of what is now the Central Exchange Building. The structure was adorned with two belts of marble across its front, which was regarded as architectural splendor.

The rules and regulations under which the Worcester Bank began business are of importance as indicating the manner of commercial banking in the early days of the county.

1. That no discount shall be made for a longer time than sixty days.
2. That there shall be but one discount day in each week, which shall be Tuesday.
3. That office hours shall be from nine o'clock A. M. to three o'clock P. M. in Summer, and from ten o'clock A. M. to three o'clock P. M. in Winter; excepting on Saturdays, when the Bank shall be shut at one o'clock P. M., and excepting on Fast days, and Thanksgiving days and Public Festivals, when the Bank shall not be opened.
4. That every note presented for discount shall have one or more endorsers, except when Stock is pledged as collateral security.
5. That every person other than the promiser offering a note for discount shall endorse it.
6. That every note presented for discount shall be attested by one or more subscribing Witnesses.
7. That every promiser and endorser shall fix on some place in the Town of Worcester where his notifications may be left.
8. That no written or printed acknowledgment shall be given for money or anything else left at the Bank merely for safe keeping.
9. That all mistakes made by the Officers of the Bank must be discovered and stated before the persons leave the Bank, or they cannot be enquired into or allowed.
10. That dividends shall be declared due to the Persons in whose name the stock shall stand on the Books fourteen days previous to the first day of April and the first day of October annually.

11. That no person shall have his note renewed for more than four-fifths of the original sum, and at every renewal one-fifth of the original sum or first loan shall be paid in.

12. That all loans on Bond and Mortgage be made for one year with interest payable at the expiration of that time.

Renewing the Charter—The original charter was to expire in October, 1812, and in May of the preceding year the stockholders voted to petition the Legislature for a renewal and for permission to increase the capital to $400,000. The petition itself throws much light on conditions in Worcester County at that time, particularly the development and increase of manufacturing industry. To quote a portion of it:

"A scrupulous regard has been had to the management of the Institution upon the strict and known and approved principles of Banking. The specie capital has been exclusively appropriated to the redemption of the bills issued upon it. The bills, in every instance, have been redeemed upon demand, and with a promptitude and cheerfulness which has left nothing for just complaint to the applicant. The accommodation of the Bank has been alike extended without partiality or prejudice to every individual whose occasions have required, and whose responsibility has justified the credit of a loan. The stockholders themselves have been among the smallest borrowers of the Bank. As they had no other inducement, so they have received no other consideration for the investment of their money than its security and the legal interest it has borne.

"In its operation, the Bank has been attended with all the advantages to the public which could have been anticipated in its incorporation. With a very restricted capital, and from its local situation exposed to repeated drafts, it has, notwithstanding, uniformly maintained a character and credit, which among the country banks, is almost peculiar to itself. It has increased the wealth, the resources, and the business of the county of Worcester; it has facilitated the progress of useful arts and manufactures; it has aided in the establishment of others, which otherwise must have languished for want of capital. It has been highly beneficial in the common intercourse of business, by rendering credit less necessary, and thereby it has diminished the number of lawsuits. It has enabled the prudent farmer to extend his improvements by anticipating the value of his crops. These are among the most obvious of its effects, but to every class of people, and to every kind of business within its influence, it has communicated some share of benefit. It has given spirit to enterprise, and patronage to laudable exertion.

"Had the capital been greater, the accommodation to the public would have been proportionally increased. The demand for money within the county has constantly exceeded the ability of the Bank to loan; and the

recent establishment of many manufactories for various useful branches of business, has for sometime past greatly augmented the number of applications. The experience of the last twelve months has evinced that the proposed capital of Four Hundred Thousand Dollars might be employed with the same expense to the stockholders, and greater accommodation to the public. Manufactures and the consequent occasions for money are rapidly increasing. The arrangements of the Bank are better and more generally understood, and the confidence of the community is becoming daily more attached to the Institution.

"The evils resulting from the expiration of the charter without renewal, are too many and too obvious to escape the discernment of the Legislature. A considerable proportion of the debts are with the Yeomanry of the County. More than one hundred and seventy thousand dollars is usually due to the bank. The embarrassment, the perplexity and the positive distress which would be produced by a sudden demand of this amount, are incalculable. Suits would be indefinitely multiplied, and an immense sacrifice of property must be the inevitable consequences."

Boston Banks Are Hostile—Yet the Legislature was antagonistic. Hostile interests developed in Boston. The banks of the Hub resented the establishment and prosperity of a country bank. Perhaps they feared the effects of the example as promising other similar institutions. As events turned out, this was a well justified foresight. The opposition was powerful, and the petition of the Worcester bank was refused. But the officers and directors were not discouraged. They went at it again at the May session of the Legislature of 1812. This supplementary petition contains a further analysis of industrial condition in the county, when it said:

"It has cherished and encouraged the manufactures of the country; it has contributed to improvements in agriculture; it has supported the credit of trade; it has multiplied the resources of business; it has diminished the number of lawsuits. The county of Worcester justly boasts of her mechanics and her artificers; the extent of her workshops, and more especially of the ingenuity of her labors in the fabric of cloths and of paper, and in the greater importance of her manufactories in iron. A sum beyond the calculation of your petitioners is constantly employed as a capital in a multiplicity of mechanical engagements. Loans are urgently applied for and readily granted to these important interests, and your petitioners are authorized in the assurance that the existence of the bank and the continuance of its accommodations are indispensable to their preservation.

"So solicitous indeed was the public mind on the subject of a renewal of the charter, at the last session of the Legislature, that petitions for that

object were spontaneously proffered from almost every important town in the county. To these unbiased testimonials to the credit of the corporation, and its salutary operations, now on the Legislative files, your petitioners would respectfully refer, in recommendation of the prayer of their petition. On this subject there are no conflicting claims. Men of all parties, classes and situations in the county are satisfied with the present application."

This petition the Legislature could not refuse. But it compromised. The renewal of the charter was granted, but the capital stock we fixed not at the $400,000 asked for, but at $200,000.

The Suffolk Bank Episode—The Worcester Bank had one experience which at the moment threatened serious consequences and even a technical failure. The Suffolk Bank of Boston adopted coercive measures to compel the Worcester Bank to keep all its Boston deposit in that institution, and by a sharp, premeditated trick caught the local officials unprepared.

It was for the interest of the State banks to keep their bills in active circulation, and they were not allowed to pay out any bills except their own. This proved an embarrassment to the banks in the larger places because the country bills came in from their depositors, and must be sent, at considerable expense and loss of time, to the issuing bank to be redeemed. The Suffolk bank of Boston, at some time previous to 1825, offered to receive at par the bills sent in to them by such banks as would keep an adequate deposit with the Suffolk. The cashier of the Suffolk bank made an offer to this effect to the Worcester bank on December 8, 1825.

"On an inquiry from Mr. Jennison, the Worcester cashier, if it was required that the whole of its Boston deposit should be kept at the Suffolk, it was answered that it would be so expected and wished. The Worcester bank kept its deposit with the New England bank and declined the proposition. Then the Suffolk bank said that if the Worcester would instruct the New England to redeem the former's bills over its counter they would consider it a favor,—otherwise they would be "compelled to adopt the old system of requiring specie for them." The Worcester bank answered that they would not consent to negotiate under an attempt at coercion.

Mr. Waldo, under date of April 25, 1826, formally communicated to the Suffolk bank the proposition: "That whenever the Suffolk bank should have collected such an amount of the Worcester bills as should be agreed on, the cashier of the Suffolk bank should give the cashier of the Worcester bank notice in writing, when a cheque on the New England bank should be sent by return mail. The sum thus received by the Suffolk bank to be then credited to the Worcester bank, the bills to be put under cover, sealed up, marked, and returned at the expense of the Suffolk bank, but not debited

until they had actually been received at the Worcester bank, and in no case were the bills to be detained more than ———— days after payment."

The plan of Mr. Waldo was not accepted. The Suffolk bank continued to ship the Worcester bills to the home bank, demanding and receiving specie, and after about two months resorted to a measure which, it would seem, must coerce the Worcester bank if it did not even cause its suspension.

On the morning of July 26 a messenger from the Suffolk presented two packages of bills, said to contain $38,000 or more than half the entire circulation, at the Worcester counter, and demanded specie. It must have required considerable time and effort to accumulate so large a sum. The Worcester bank had $39,000 to its credit at the New England bank, and tendered a draft in payment. The messenger replied that he would accept the draft if this bank would agree to keep its deposits and redeem its bills at the Suffolk. His offer was refused. He was paid $28,000 in specie, and a messenger was despatched to Boston to pay the balance over the Suffolk's counter.

The tender was made to the Suffolk the next morning, but the latter bank refused it and despatched a sheriff at once to Worcester to attach the real estate of this bank, "in security for the payment of bank bills for which the specie was offered before the process was issued."

There is no authentic information as to what followed. The bank's records are silent on the subject. But there was lively controversy in the newspapers, in which the president of the Suffolk bank defended his bank's action, and matters were adjusted, so that no permanent harm was done. Later, after several banks had been established in Worcester, they united in sending a daily messenger to Boston, who took down notes and drafts for collection, and supplies of foreign bills to redeem those which he found ready to be returned to the banks at Worcester.

The original National Banking Act required that all national banks be known by a number, a provision of which we have reminders in the titles of some of the banks of today. But many of the old State banks resented relinquishing their old names, and the Worcester bank was one of these. The act was amended and in 1864 the State charter was surrendered and the change made to the Worcester National Bank.

The Establishment of Other County Banks—With the passing of the years the business interests of the county grew rapidly, and with them grew the need of more convenient banking facilities. The south county was first to respond with the establishment, in 1825, of the Blackstone National Bank at Uxbridge and the Northbridge National Bank at Northbridge. In 1832 the Fitchburg National Bank was organized, and in 1836 the Southbridge

National Bank. Other important towns one after another established their own commercial banks, and most of these are doing business today.

Bank Consolidations Have Been Many—In Worcester, as in all other large American cities, great changes in commercial banking have come with consolidation of the smaller banks into larger institutions. In 1903 the city had eight commercial banks—the Worcester National Bank, Central National Bank established in 1829, Quinsigamond National Bank, in 1833; Citizens National Bank, in 1836; City National Bank, in 1854; First National Bank, in 1863; Mechanics National Bank, in 1865; and Worcester Safe Deposit and Trust Company in 1868.

In the year 1903 and the period immediately following, six of these were consolidated as the Worcester Trust Company—the Central, Quinsigamond, Citizens, City, First National, and Worcester Safe Deposit and Trust Company. Instead of eight commercial banks, there were three. To these, in 1905, was added the Merchants National Bank, and 1916 the Park Trust Company.

Then, in 1917, came a most important merger of banking interests in the consolidation of the old Worcester National Bank, the oldest commercial bank in Massachusetts west of Boston, and the Worcester Trust Company, the oldest trust company in all Massachusetts. The former's national bank charter was surrendered, and the combined bank became the Worcester Bank and Trust Company. The number of commercial banks was now four. Then in 1922 the Merchants National Bank bought the assets of the Park Trust Company, which went out of existence, and there were three banks. In 1922, the number was raised to four again by the organization of the Bancroft Trust Company, which closed its doors in 1931.

In 1927 the name of the Merchants National Bank was changed to the Worcester County National Bank. In that year the bank bought control of the Fitchburg Bank and Trust Company, which became the Fitchburg Branch of the Worcester County National Bank. Two years later, in 1929, the Worcester County National acquired the ownership of six county banks—the Second National Bank of Barre, Clinton Trust Company, North Brookfield National Bank, Spencer National Bank and First National Bank of Webster. The Fitchburg Bank and Trust Company went out of existence as a banking unit and became the Fitchburg Branch of the Worcester County National Bank. The five town banks retained their charters and their banking individualities.

The final act in this long banking drama was the coming together of the Worcester Bank and Trust Company and Worcester County National Bank in an affiliation of interests, under the common stock ownership by the

Worcester Bank and Trust Company. Each of these large banks retains its own banking entity. They are conducted as separate institutions, each with its own officers and corps of employees. But the affiliation of interests has worked to the advantage of both the city banks and their county affiliates.

The last commercial bank to be established in Worcester was the Skandia Trust Company the outgrowth of the Skandia Credit Union, which opened for business in 1930.

Fitchburg, too, has seen many changes among its commercial banks. First to be organized was the Fitchburg National Bank in 1832, and there followed the Rollstone National Bank, chartered in 1849, and the Wachusett National Bank, chartered in 1875. In 1906 the Rollstone National absorbed the deposits of the Fitchburg Trust Company, and changed its name, under a State charter, to the Fitchburg Safe Deposit and Trust Company. In 1914 this bank absorbed the Fitchburg National Bank and changed its name to the Fitchburg Bank and Trust Company. In 1927 it was consolidated with the Worcester County National Bank and became the Fitchburg Branch of that bank.

In 1911 the deposits of the Wachusett National Bank were taken over by the Safety Fund National Bank.

Herewith we give a list of the banks of Worcester County commercial banks as they exist today, each with the year in which it commenced business:

ATHOL—
- Athol National Bank, 1874.
- Millers River National Bank, 1865.

BARRE—
- Second National Bank, 1912.

CLINTON—
- Clinton Trust Company, 1920.

FITCHBURG—
- Safety Fund National Bank, 1874.
- Worcester County National Bank, Fitchburg Branch.

GARDNER—
- First National Bank, 1865.
- Gardner Trust Company, 1916.

LEOMINSTER—
- Merchants National Bank, 1911.

MILFORD—
- Milford National Bank, 1865.
- Home National Bank, 1875.

NORTHBORO—
- Northboro National Bank, 1865.

NORTHBRIDGE—
- Northbridge National Bank, 1825.

NORTH BROOKFIELD—
- North Brookfield National Bank, 1917.

SOUTHBRIDGE—
- Peoples National Bank, 1819.
- Southbridge National Bank, 1836.

SPENCER—
- Spencer National Bank, 1875.

UXBRIDGE—
- Blackstone National Bank, 1825.

WEBSTER—
- First National Bank, 1875.
- Webster National Bank, 1918.

WESTBORO—
- First National Bank, 1864.

WHITINSVILLE—
Whitinsville National Bank, 1866.

WINCHENDON—
Winchendon National Bank, 1864.

WORCESTER—
Mechanics National Bank, 1865.
Skandia Trust Company, 1930.
Worcester Bank and Trust Company, 1804.
Worcester County National Bank, 1905.

Temperance Movement Begets County's First Savings Bank—The mutual savings banks of Worcester County were born in the temperance movement of the 1820's. At a meeting of the Worcester Association, a county organization, in the old village church at Northborough, October 18, 1826, a committee consisting of Rev. Joseph Allen of Northboro and Rev. Nathaniel Thayer of Lancaster "was appointed to consider and report what measures the members of the association should individually adopt for the prevention and suppression of intemperance." At a meeting April 18, 1827, the committee made a report recommending certain "individual action," and a larger committee was appointed to consider the whole subject. That committee reported at a following meeting held in the church at Princeton, June 20 of that year, and there was interesting discussion but no definite official action.

But "among the measures recommended was the instituting of a county savings bank, as an encouragement to young men and others to lay up a portion of their wages instead of wasting them, as was too commonly the case in taverns and tippling houses." The proposal met with favor, and the moderator, Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft of Worcester, promised to talk over the matter with leading men of his town. The result was the formation of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, the first in the county, and the first in Massachusetts outside of Boston.

In the Massachusetts *Spy* of November 21, 1827, appeared this advertisement: "NOTICE. Those persons favorably disposed to the plan of a SAVINGS BANK for the County of Worcester, are requested to meet at Capt. Thomas's Coffee House, in Worcester, on MONDAY EVENING NEXT, at 6 o'clock, to consult on measures necessary for carrying the plan into Execution. Nov. 21."

Of a subsequent meeting, the *Spy* of December 12 reported: "An adjourned meeting was held at Capt. Thomas's Coffee House in this town, on the evening of the 6th inst. to take measures for establishing an institution for Savings for the County of Worcester. The committee appointed at the former meeting, reported a petition for an act of incorporation, which was signed, and a Committee appointed to present the same to the Legislature.

"The design of this institution," said the *Spy,* "is to afford to those, who are desirous of saving their money, but who have not acquired sufficient to purchase a share in the banks, or a sum in public stocks, the means of employing their money to advantage, without running the risk of losing it, as they are too frequently exposed to do by lending it to individuals, who either fail or defraud them. It is intended to encourage the industrious and prudent, and to induce those who have not hitherto been such, to lessen their unnecessary expenses, and to save and lay by something for a period of life, when they will be less able to earn a support.

"When the great safety of such an institution is considered, no other mode of investment offers so many advantages to those who have a small income which they wish to secure for future use. Any sum not less than a dollar is received in deposit, and when it amounts to five dollars, it is put on interest.

"Institutions of this kind have been established very generally in all the principal towns of England, and in many places in our own country, and have always been attended with the most salutary effects. Similar consequences may reasonably be looked for in this country, where the number, who would wish to avail themselves of such an institution, is large and annually increasing. It is, therefore, with satisfaction that we have noticed the incipient measures in relation to this subject, and hope it will be pursued till carried into effect."

The act of incorporation was made effective on February 8, 1828. The corporators named in the charter show that the whole county was interested. They were Daniel Waldo, Frederick W. Paine, Samuel B. Thomas, Pliny Merrick, Benjamin Butman, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Samuel Jennison, Silas Brooks, David Brigham, Calvin Willard, Oliver Fiske, Charles Allen, George Wall, John W. Lincoln, Isaac Goodwin, John M. Earle and Emory Washburn, all of Worcester; Solomon Strong, Leominster; Andrew H. Ward, Shrewsbury; Seth Hastings, Mendon; William Stedman, Lancaster; Stephen Goddard, Leicester; Simeon Sanderson, Westminster; Jesse Bliss, Brookfield; Benjamin Adams, Uxbridge; William S. Hastings, Mendon; and James Draper, Spencer.

At the first meeting of the corporators in April it was announced that every town in the county was then represented on the board by one or more members.

The bank opened for business, June 4, 1828, in the quarters of the Worcester Bank, which offered them free of rent. At first the office hours were from two to five o'clock on Wednesday afternoon only. Not for some years was the bank open on every business day.

After seven months of business the treasurer reported there had been received from eighty-one depositors $5,250, of which had been withdrawn

$223, leaving on hand $5,027. The profits for the period were $37,82 and expenses $11.38, leaving a net profit of $26.44. At the close of the second year deposits totalled $13,564. In 1834 they were $158,672.

The Fitchburg Savings Bank was next to be chartered, in 1846, and following were the Southbridge Savings Bank in 1848, the Clinton Savings Bank and the Worcester Mechanics Savings Bank in 1851, and the North Brookfield Savings Bank, the Winchendon Savings Bank and the Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank in 1854. Not one of all the county savings banks is an infant. The youngest, the Bay State Savings Bank of Worcester, started business in 1895 and the next youngest the Warren Savings Bank was incorporated in 1882, more than half a century ago.

The mutual savings banks now doing business in Worcester County, together with the year in which they were organized, follow:

Baldwinsville—Templeton Savings Bank, 1871.
Barre Savings Bank, 1869.
Clinton Savings Bank, 1851.
Fitchburg—Fitchburg Savings Bank, 1846; Worcester North Savings Institution, 1868.
Gardner Savings Bank, 1868.
Leicester Savings Bank, 1869.
Leominster Savings Bank, 1865.
Milford Savings Bank, 1851.
North Brookfield Savings Bank, 1854.
Southbridge Savings Bank, 1848.
Spencer Savings Bank, 1871.
Uxbridge Savings Bank, 1870.
Warren Savings Bank, 1882.
Webster Five Cents Savings Bank, 1868.
Westborough Savings Bank, 1869.
Whitinsville Savings Bank, 1872.
Winchendon Savings Bank, 1854.
Worcester—Bay State Savings Bank, 1895; Peoples Savings Bank, 1864; Worcester County Institution for Savings, 1828; Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank, 1854; Worcester Mechanics Savings Bank, 1851.

The assets of these savings banks total more than $300,000,000 and their deposits more than $275,000,000.

The Coöperative Banks of the Shire—Coöperative banks were first established in America a little more than a century ago, under the name of savings and loan associations, the system having come over from Great

Britain where even then it was a well-founded institution. Their appeal is to the small home builder, and it is for this class of thrifty people that they are conducted. Our county has thousands of homes which were built with money saved through these banking institutions.

Some small effort had been made to establish banks of that character, but with small success. It was not until the middle 1870's that they secured a substantial foothold in Massachusetts. In about 1875, a group of influential citizens interested themselves in the cause, convinced that banks conducted on that system would supplement the usefulness of the mutual savings bank in an important and highly beneficial manner. The influence of these advocates prevailed, and from that time on they were established in rapid succession. The Worcester County cities and towns were quick to see the opportunity afforded the family of small means to secure a home of its own. Then, too, the purely democratic nature of selection of officers was appealing to the average Yankee, as savoring closely of the town meeting.

The first two to start business were the Fitchburg Coöperative Bank and the Worcester Coöperative Bank, both of which date from 1877. There followed next the Home Coöperative Bank of Worcester, incorporated in 1882, and the Clinton Coöperative Bank, the Milford Coöperative Bank and the Equity Coöperative Bank of Worcester, incorporated in 1887. Today, twenty-one of these institutions are doing business in the shire, with assets of many millions of dollars. The list of coöperative banks follows:

Athol Coöperative Bank, 1889.

Clinton—Clinton Coöperative Bank, 1887; Wachusetts Coöperative Bank, 1913.

Fitchburg—Fidelity Coöperative Bank, 1888; Fitchburg Coöperative Bank, 1877.

Gardner—Chair-town Coöperative Bank, 1915; Gardner Coöperative Bank, 1889.

Grafton Coöperative Bank, 1887.

Leominster—Leominster Coöperative Bank, 1888; Mutual Coöperative Bank, 1931.

CHAPTER XLV.

Industries

The historian who attempts to explain the rise of any region as an industrial center as the inevitable result of great natural advantages will meet with difficulties in accounting for Worcester County's high place in the realm of manufacturing. The usual formula is to state that the quantities and varieties of raw materials derived from forests, minerals, farms—"natural resources"—are the bases of diversified manufactures. An abundance of either "white" or black coals providing inexpensive power, numerous and highly improved transportation systems, strong financial institutions and the creation of an ingenious artisan type of worker, are among other so-called prerequisites of industrial growth and leadership. Orra L. Stone, in an article written in 1928, on the "Industries of Metropolitan Boston," said that:

"The environment and economic demand conspired to establish industries in Boston, on the Atlantic seaboard, in the early days of New England. . . . . The five primary factors attending the early development of Boston's industrial life were:

"1. Available water power that met the requirements of the period.

"2. Inventive genius and the skill of its mechanics.

"3. The commercial resourcefulness of its population.

"4. The development of shipping due to the fact that in the earlier years of the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard, the population was almost exclusively dependent upon fisheries and overseas trade, with the exception of agricultural pursuits.

"5. The accumulation of capital by naturally thrifty people, who were forced to economize in order to live."

Whether one accepts the ordinary historical formula or the more applicable one of Mr. Stone, if applied to the industrial birth and growth of the Worcester section, one arrives at the conclusion that the "Heart of the Commonwealth" became so despite the lack of, rather than because of, unusual

resources of nature, labor and wealth. It never was blessed with the chief early advantages of Boston—location upon the seaboard. In truth Worcester started the race heavily handicapped. When first settled and for many years thereafter, it did have valuable forests, but they were rapidly depleted because there was no other fuel available. Its water powers possibly were equal to the age in which they were utilized on very small scales, but when industries grew larger the most of its hydro-power had to be brought in from more favorably situated sections. The competition of its elder brother Boston was overwhelming from the beginning, and this refers not only to the making and distribution of articles of commerce, but also for the finest of its artisans, mechanics, laborers and inventive geniuses. The flow was always in the direction of the coast from which the Worcester region was practically separated until the Blackstone Canal to Providence, Rhode Island, of 1828 seemed to have provided an outlet to the seven seas, but which actually proved more or less worthless. The canal was rendered completely useless when a few years later the era of railroad building, or speculation, provided a better means of getting things to market. Even then the coastal cities held most of the advantage and were the magnets which drew the skilled workman from the territories lying immediately back of them geographically.

Before Worcester had become firmly established in industrial affairs, the regions along the Connecticut River, and to the farther West had become capable competitors with marked natural advantages and fewer commercial and transportational difficulties. It need hardly be pointed out that it was but little more than six decades ago that the accumulated wealth of Worcester financiers was sufficient to contribute importantly to the development of its own enterprises, and not for a much longer period have its productions forced their way into coastal and overseas markets. All of which facts and conditions are given space here, not as an apologia of Worcester County, or in disparagement of its numerous advantages and fine qualities. On the contrary they are brought out because they tend to show in sharp contrast the remarkable achievements of the region industrially against a background which had few outstanding features. They indicate that the laurels fit exceedingly well upon achievements made under great difficulties and in the face of many discouragements. Few greater compliments can be paid industrial Worcester than to remark that it did, and does, things so well that it has made it economically profitable for raw materials to be brought from distant places to Worcester and its fellow-manufacturing cities and towns, these to be made into finished products which must again be sent to the four quarters of the globe.

Historically, manufacturing is coeval with the settlement and growth of Worcester County, and the industrial changes coincident with, and the cause

of, its broad development. The first hundred years, however, were characterized by simple household and neighboring industries, the handmaids of agriculture, as contrasted with the modern factory system. Our Puritan forefathers were not poor, as a whole, nor lacking in business acumen and ambitious enterprise. Many were the progressive of their day in both old and new Englands, and wealthy with the means and skill to secure the necessities of life, and not a few of its luxuries. A large percentage were of the merchant class and some, upon finding little outlet for trading, turned to agriculture as a means of producing not only food and raiment, but wealth. All were land-hungry. Indian wars ruined the settlements made prior to 1702 in the Worcester region, but slowly thereafter the colonizing of the area proceeded. It is worth remembering as bearing upon the kinds of manufactures and of artisans, known as "Yankee," which later became and remained outstanding in the development of manufacturing in the United States, that during the first century of Puritan colonizing the migrants to eastern Massachusetts were ninety-nine per cent. English, all of which made for a solidarity characteristic of no other part of our country. The eminent historian, John Fiske, stated that up to the Revolution no county in England was more thoroughly English than the New England Colonies.

The foregoing observations have bearing in this chapter only because they hint from what kind of folk the industrial leadership in later generations came and suggest one of the reasons why a great reservoir of skilled workmen was established in the eastern Massachusetts territory, which not only established it in the forefront of industrialism, but has been drawn upon by all the states of the Union. It was inevitable that the New Englanders should turn to manufacturing so soon as the farming, to which they had been forced by circumstances, was producing surplus materials. It was inevitable, also, that when manufacturing grew to an extent that it reduced the market for goods from the mother country, it should come in conflict with the ancient "mercantile system" of England. This shrewdly worked out system, or policy, exploited New England as a source of raw materials and farm products for the fostering country. All attempts at the production of manufactured articles in the Colonies were restrained, in order that these must be purchased from abroad, and thus build up the wealth and power of the mother nation. It was this system which for more than a century and a half held in check the industrial development of the American Colonies, and which eventually came to be one of the causes of the Revolution. Interestingly enough, this British restraint upon the manufacturing ambitions of our forefathers, helped to engender much of the ingenuity and inventive genius of New Englanders. The disadvantage of being unable to obtain tools, machinery and industrial secrets from overseas, inspired the Colonists to work out ways and means of

doing things and of making their own tools and devices. Not until after the Revolution, or perhaps one should write, until after the War of 1812 that resulted chiefly from Great Britain's attempt to suppress our commerce in manufactured products, and which was followed by the wholesale "dumping" of her goods in this country with the intent to discouraging the growth of our industries, not until then did manufacturing take on the aspects of a major affair, and the advantages reaped from the ingenuity and persistence developed by the repression of the English "mercantile system."

One may pass over the industrial history of Worcester County prior to about the 1820's with the statement that it was simply a part of the whole, and not particularly different from any other section of interior Massachusetts. The progress of these years was mostly along agricultural lines and in such industries as catered to the needs of the farmer. A pioneer on the land utilized his axe, hoe, drawing knife, and other simple tools to take care of his moderate necessities. At first he beat out his grain for meal by hand, but many of the charters of the "plantations" required the building of a gristmill as soon as there were enough settlers. The number of "Mill" brooks and creeks in Worcester County and New England indicates where the first power came from, although the windmill was tried before it was proven unsuitable to local conditions. The man on the farm had to be a jack of all trades making his own gear; the uncanny abilities of the Yankee at whittling are proverbial. Most of the first non-agricultural activities had to do with the use of woods, the making of buildings, furniture, receptacles, implements, vehicles, and the pioneers of the Worcester section were not only fortunate in the variety and quantities of its woods, but in the demand for wooden articles by the coastal towns. Several Worcester towns early won fame for their woodworkers. Tanning was one of the first industries and with it the making of footgear, and other leather products. Wool was the most used material for clothing and household purposes.

The city of Worcester, now far in the lead as the manufacturing center of the county, and of the Commonwealth, outside the Boston Metropolitan area, was relatively slow in getting started. Here industries, in 1827, consisted of "the large paper mills belonging to Elijah Burbank, five modern machine shops, at which great quantities of machinery of various kinds were made, one small cotton factory, a lead aqueduct factory, and other works of minor note." This is a strange group for a village of that early date, where practically none of the raw materials used, save wood, were to be found in the neighborhood. Less than a hundred years ago, 1837, Worcester was annually turning out manufactured articles to the amount of nearly a million dollars (969,569). It was, however, slightly dependent upon local, or regional supplies, for its

principal raw materials. The value of woolen goods woven in eight mills totaled $360,352. Next in order were nine manufactories of woolen machinery, whose productions were valued at $240,000. Cotton goods, coaches and chaises, boots and shoes, and the paper from two mills were next in order, their values being $62,182, $60,000, $59,000, and $54,815, respectively. Of successively diminishing values were the wire, hat, iron casting and straw bonnet industries.

The making of woolen goods was carried on in a number of places at this time, for sheep were numerous all over New England, although the finer wools came from the Berkshires and Vermont. The invention and improvement of woolen-making machinery were progressing rapidly, and Worcester evidently had the enterprise and the skilled men to construct the still simple machines. Samuel Lawrence says that "not a yard of fancy wool fabric had ever been woven by any power loom in any country, till done by William Crompton in 1840." Cole describes a typical woolen mill as "Housed in a wooden structure 26 feet by 50 and two stories high, were four sets of cards, 155 spindles, and 4 looms; while the labor force of the 'factory' consisted of only 9 persons." Worcester's eight woolen mills, in 1837, had sixteen sets of machinery, and employed altogether, one hundred and twelve males and one hundred and thirteen females. Nor must one think that anything approaching the factory system of employment and the consolidation of industries had as yet begun. Even in the boot and shoe-making business it was not until the middle of the last century that the trade turned away from the small shop usually located in a home where three or four persons did most of the work by hand. Even after the Civil War, many of the so-called factories "put out" much of the work done, although these were the pioneer days of the large plant and elaborate machinery. Today there is scarcely a process that has not yielded to machinery. After all, the literal meaning of the word manufacture is "to make by hand."

The Worcester wire mill that was doing a business in 1836, of $45,000, probably had its inception in Spencer, as early as 1812, when wire was drawn by hand. In 1831 Ichabod Washburn and Benjamin Goddard began to make iron card wire and wire for wood screws in Northville, near Worcester. Washburn, in 1834, moved to the outskirts of the larger town and continued his operations, and made wire "equally as good as the English." Practically none of the iron used came from Massachusetts, and some of it was imported. Henry S. Washburn became a partner, in 1845, an act which gave new impetus to the business. He was the head of the Quinsigamond Iron and Wire Works established in 1846, in which was mounted the first rolling mill. Two years later, Philip S. Moen, a son-in-law of Ichabod Washburn, also became a partner in the works and the firm prospered greatly. Ichabod

Washburn had in the meanwhile (1840), acquired water rights in South Worcester and erected a wire mill. Benjamin Goddard was made the manager and so continued for the following twenty-seven years. His sons continued its direction, and the name is among those of the heads of the succeeding corporations, the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the Wickwire Spencer Steel Corporation, and subsidiaries. Prominent in the merged companies of the last-named corporation were Erastus B. Bigelow, George F. Wright, Charles H. Morgan, Jabez Bigelow, Harry W. Goddard, and Theodore H. Wickwire.

The wire-working plants of Worcester have been so conspicuous in its industrial history and of New England, that the stories of two other groups in its modern organization are in order. As related by E. Melvin Williams:

"Erastus B. Bigelow, who was born in West Boylston in 1814, invented the first power loom for making counterpanes, coach lace, Brussels and Wilton carpets, this leading to the invention of a loom for weaving wire cloth and the founding of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company in 1856. George F. Wright entered the employ of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company in 1862, and twenty-one years later organized the Palmer Wire Goods Company, which in 1885 became the Wright Wire Cloth Company, and, after removal to Worcester in 1890, became the Wright and Colton Wire Cloth Company, in 1902 changing to the Wright Wire Company. Charles H. Morgan in 1880 organized the Morgan Spring Company, of Worcester. This enterprise developed considerably during the next thirty years. Jabez Bigelow began to make meal sieves and sand riddles in 1831 in Rutland. In 1834 he came to Worcester and expanded his line of riddles. In the next year he advertised for two girls 'who could take a loom to their homes.' Soon, he was operating three looms, but in all employed only six operatives, including his sons. However, in the course of three-quarters of a century, the expansion was represented in the consolidation of several firms as the National Manufacturing Company, of which J. H. Bigelow, son of Jabez, was president. These four firms, Clinton Wire Cloth Company, Wright Wire Company, Morgan Spring Company, and the National Manufacturing Company, continued as separate concerns until June, 1919, when they were consolidated under the name of the Clinton-Wright Wire Company.

"Another group of wire companies that were destined to come together and finally be merged with the other group in the recent consolidation, were the Spencer Wire Company and the Wickwire interests. The Spencer Wire Company may be traced back, it seems, to the experiments in fine wire-drawing made by Windsor Hatch and Charles Watson about 1812 in Spencer. The development of the Spencer Wire Company during the lifetime of Richard Sugden has been reviewed in the Spencer chapter. Mr. Sugden died in

1895, and the next to come prominently into the history of wide-drawing was Harry W. Goddard, who entered the business at Wire Village in 1881 as a boy. In 1899 when it was decided to erect a larger mill at Worcester, Mr. Goddard headed the enterprise. He continued in active charge until September, 1919, when the Spencer Wire Company also was merged in the Clinton-Wright Wire Company. The Wickwire Steel Company, of Buffalo, New York, was organized in March, 1907, by T. H. Wickwire, T. H. Wickwire, Jr., and Ward A. Wickwire. It blew in a blast furnace in 1907, and another in 1910, and also had other subsidiary companies, insuring its supply of raw materials. In course of time the Wickwire Steel Company also laid down a blooming mill, billet mill, rod mill, wire mills, and nail mills. The last of these was brought into operation in 1918, and all these properties constituted a safe and desirable combination, with all its lines secured, from the mining of the ore to the completion of the wire products. It was this consideration probably that influenced the Worcester interests to merge with the Buffalo concern in 1920, the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Corporation then absorbing the interests of the Clinton-Wright Company, and the Wickwire Steel Company. In 1922 there was a probability that the 1920 corporation would be merged in a great consolidation of steel companies outside of the United States Steel Corporation. The largest of these outside corporations was the Bethlehem Steel Company, and the movement for consolidation seemed to have been conceived by Charles M. Schwab and his associates. However, it was not consummated, and the Worcester wire companies still operate as the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Corporation."

As has been indicated, textile machinery and parts were over the longest period more than any other industry the source of the largest income from machinery manufactures. It would be interesting to know how many of the "five modern machine shops" of 1827 were the forefathers of the twenty-one establishments of a century later that turned out products valued at more than $12,000,000. One was owned probably by William H. Howard, who, in about 1825, began to construct looms. Since the Revolution some ingenious devices and trade secrets of old England had been introduced into our country and improvements made by native inventors. Francis Cabot Lowell, whose name is perpetuated in the Massachusetts city, and Samuel Slater put the power loom on the textile map shortly after the War of 1812, and the textile industry started to make history when, after the lessons taught by that war, the United States committed itself to the policy of subsidizing home industries through the means of a protective tariff.

Since Worcester lacked the water power, then and still important in weaving textiles, she went ahead in the making of the machinery required by the

industry. Howard's machine shop paved the way to such later establishments as those of George Crompton and the later Knowles, L. J., and F. B., inventors, and the tremendous Crompton and Knowles Loom Works. One has but to think of the Curtis and Marble Machine Company, Johnson and Bassett, the Draper Corporation of Hopedale and the Whitinsville plants to realize why Worcester County is the greatest textile machinery center in the world. Other machinery companies are playing conspicuous rôles in their field of manufacturing, such as the Rice, Barton and Fales Machine and Iron Company, founded in 1836, makers of paper mill machinery, in which three generations of the Barton family have been heads; the production of machine tools, a species of production requiring the skilled artisans of the finest training, with such representatives as the Reed-Prentice Company, which was originally the F. E. Reed Company, the Whitcomb-Blaisdell Machine Tool Company, and the Prentice Brothers Company, of older formation. Nor must one overlook John E. Snyder and Son and the Woodward and Powell Planer Company, the Morgan Construction Company, and a half dozen others of age and note. Worcester has stood out for many years in the fabrication of devices for making envelopes, a business which seems unimportant unless one realizes what enormous amounts of these simple articles are used. Russell L. Hawes, of Worcester, was the first to invent a successful machine for turning out envelopes. He began utilizing his invention in 1858, since which time many companies interested in this feature have been organized in the city. Ten of these concerns consolidated as the United States Envelope Company, of Worcester, with a capitalization of $5,000,000, than which there is no larger concern in this business.

The story of the Norton Emery Wheel Company, which in 1934 celebrates its fiftieth birthday, has its novel features and is one of the several large manufacturing corporations of the later period in Worcester industrial annals. Emery wheels were made and used in Civil War times. Various materials and binders were used in the endeavor to perfect this line of grinding device. The first Norton emery wheel was made in 1783, and in 1885 the Norton Emery Wheel Company was incorporated, although the number of men then employed was but thirteen. Its resultant preëminence sprang from the work of a brilliant group of inventors, especially Charles H. Norton "father of cylinderical grinding." In 1922 the Norton Company, in addition to its immense plant in Worcester had factories in France and Canada. "There is hardly an article, tool, instrument, conveyance or appliance of any kind, made of metal, in the manufacture of which these abrasive products do not have some part," and the plant of the Norton Company grew by leaps and bounds into first position, for size, among the city's machine tool shops, and

first in the world as a builder of cylindrical grinding machines. These machines grind anything up to many tons in weight to a degree of accuracy measured in a small fraction of the thousandth of an inch. The Heald Machine Company of Worcester, supplements the Norton field with machines to grind internally, an absolute necessity in the automobile engine. Other local companies in the same industry are the O. S. Walker Company and the Leland-Gifford Company.

The mere chronology of the minutiæ of manufacturing annals somehow fails to bring into the light the forces that shaped the development of industry or even reveal glimpses of the splendid men and work that motivated this development. One writes a decade ago, that Matthew J. Whittall conducts the largest carpet mill in the world operated by an individual, and recalls that Whittall carpets have been much used floor coverings for half a century. Of the Royal Worcester Corset Company it can be recorded that it is one of the greatest concentrations of its type of business known. There is also the very large Massachusetts Corset Company, which dates from 1907, which took over the also large United States Corset Company. The founder of this particular activity in Worcester was David Hale Fanning, who was thirty-one years of age when, rejected for physical disabilities at the beginning of the Civil War, he returned to the city and began his business life. For more than six decades thereafter he "gave to his projects his entire time, thought, energy, and the best he possessed," to paraphrase his own words. His first project was the making of hoop skirts, only to see them lose their popularity. In the meanwhile he had designed and sewed with his hands a corset which he put upon the market. Changing fashions were met with scientific improvements in his product, and in more recent years altered the proportions of the products his concern turned out, but he kept pace with the whims of fashion. At times the Royal Worcester Corporation gave employment to two thousand people, and gave them work in some of the most modern factories in the Commonwealth.

The Wheelock steam engine was famous for a third of a century. The rise of the automobile led to the rise of such corporations as the Wyman-Gordon Company, and others. Second only to the Pullman Company in size, the works of the Osgood-Bradley Car Company have turned out steam railroad and street railway cars, and automobile bodies during its long and important career. Among the numerous manufactured products of Worcester companies are such things as: Valentines by the George C. Whitney Company; skates by the Samuel Winslow Skate Manufacturing Company; vacuum cleaners, by the M. S. Wright concern; firearms of the Harrington and Richardson Arms Company; wall paper by the Allen-Higgins Company; belts that go "round the world" of the Graton and Knight Manufacturing and

other corporations; power-transmission chain by the Baldwin Chain and Manufacturing Company; the blowers of the Coppus Engineering and Equipment concern; shoe specialties of the Heywood Boot and Shoe Company, J. E., and W. G. Wesson and other manufacturers; the automatic sprinklers of the Rockwood Company, and a large number of other concerns. The strength of Worcester industrially lies not alone in its great corporations but the number of its factories and the variety of their productions.

Worcester celebrated its two hundredth anniversary in 1922, and at that time the claim was made that more than three thousand different articles were made in the city, and further that it had: the largest grinding wheel industry in the world; the largest concern in the country for the manufacture of wire novelties, wire springs and wire; the largest plant in the world devoted exclusively to the manufacture of vacuum cleaners; one of the largest corset manufactories in the world; one of the largest steel and wire plants in the United States, if not in the world; one of the largest wall paper factories in the world; one of the largest muslin underwear factories in the world; one of the largest car-building plants in the world; one of the largest loom manufacturing plants in the world; the largest valentine factory in the world; also the largest skate factory; one of the largest leather belting businesses in the world; and also that Worcester is one of the greatest machine tool centers in the New World. Whether these statements can be substantiated after careful comparison with other great manufacturing centers of the Old and New World or not, it is quite certain that Worcester stands well among the important manufacturing cities of the United States. Worcester, it is said, "has a plant that turns out seventy-five per cent. of all the automobile and bicycle chains made in the United States," and "has a plant that manufactures ninety per cent. of the automobile crank shafts made in America." Its main industries are boots and shoes, clothing, copper, tin and sheet iron products, corsets, cultery and tools, electrical machinery, foundry and machine shop products, machine tools, musical instruments, textile machinery, wirework, grinding machinery, carpets, razors, wall paper, envelopes, valentines.

The greatest test ever given Worcester industries and the genius and training of its workers came when war eventually involved the United States and most of the world. Hon. Charles G. Washburn reviews, in 1919, the *Activities of Worcester Manufacturers in the Great War.* From a greatly abbreviated compilation from the article, which was published in the *Worcester Telegram* of July 31, 1919, the following is reprinted:

"Herein the compiler can only touch the headlines, but that perhaps will be sufficient to show the magnitude of the production in Worcester plants, and of the important part the city played in proving to the German High

Command that, far from becoming exhausted as the war proceeded, the Allies were becoming stronger and stronger every day, in supplies as well as men, thanks to the great American effort. Worcester manufacturers expanded their efforts almost incredibly, in war work. The Norton Company had more than 4,000 employees engaged on government contracts day and night, and had increased acreage of floor space of its Worcester plants alone from 13,737 feet in 1914 to 30,809 in 1917; and its tool grinding machines went to munition plants all over the United States, for 'the government, recognizing the great importance of the grinding industry, gave the Norton Company the highest classification in its Priority List, among concerns manufacturing similar products.' The Mills Woven Cartridge Belt Company increased their production from 6,000 to 50,000 belts a week. The Harrington and Richardson Arms Company made the metal parts for 300,000 scabbards, and also made signal pistols. The entire plant of the Osgood Bradley Car Company was used, from October, 1917, to make gun carriages for the French Government, the initial contract being for goods to approximate value of $15,000,000. Later the company undertook an order for eleven miles of anchor chain. Not more than five per cent. of the product of the Whitcomb-Blaisdell Machine Tool Company during the war period was for other than war purposes; Charles E. Hildreth, its president, became one of the industrial advisors to the government at Washington. The Reed-Prentice Company devoted its entire energies to war work. The Reed and Prince Manufacturing Company supplied its screws and rivets to shipbuilders during the great shipbuilding effort, using on war contracts 2,000,000 pounds of brass alone. The Rockwood Sprinkler Company designed a method of making booster casing for American three-inch high explosive shells, patented the process, and presented it free to the United States Government, which soon had a dozen plants manufacturing the casing. The Worcester company received orders for more than 200,000,000 of casings, and spent $400,000 in enlarging its plant, which, as the war ended was employing six hundred operatives, and was working night and day. The Rice, Barton and Fales Machine and Iron Company did considerable work for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The Washburn shops of the W. P. I. began as early as 1915 to supply machine tools to the Allies, and later equipped many American plants for the United States Government. The Morgan Construction Company sent their machines to many points. The war product of the American Steel and Wire Company included one hundred and eighty-nine articles of manufacture, each one of which was put to a number of uses. The special effort which met the urgent need of the United States Navy for wire rope for the North Sea mine fields brought to the American Steel and Wire Company a special letter of thanks

and appreciation from the Paymaster General of the Navy. The company was called on to furnish several thousands of miles of strand and finished wire for use on the French Front. Washington wiring: 'The Army cannot advance without it.' The local company made all the springs for the Lewis Machine Gun, and also made magazine springs for the Browning Gun. The product of the Spencer Wire Company was of vital importance to the innumerable textile mills of the country during their period of high pressure on government contracts. Innumerable other war uses were found for the specialties of the Spencer Company. 'When the tanks made their appearance on Flanders and their operators were suffocated at the moment of victory by the fumes within the tanks, this company helped to answer General Pershing's urgent cable for relief, and by much overtime work furnished the wire parts which went into the construction of the belts made by the Graton and Knight Company to overcome the deadly gasses.' The Wright Wire Company furnished wire rope for many war purposes, as well as for use in the mine barrage in the North Sea. The Graton and Knight Manufacturing Company made very many articles for war purposes, among them: bayonet scabbards, gun slips, holsters, bridles, sabre straps, gun slings, helmet chinstraps, and other articles cut out of leather. The company produced a special tannage of leather, and made recoil packings for 75mm. and 155mm. guns. These had never been made in this country before, and was a product developed through coöperation with the Engineering Division of the Ordnance Department. The local company was the only producer of link 'U' belts for tanks, and had some remarkable records of prompt execution of government orders. The products of the Crompton and Knowles Loom Works were in demand for very important textile plants operating on war contracts. The Curtis and Marble Machine Company also produced textile machinery. The immense Whittall Carpet Mills were operating largely on government and other orders for war material. The Sanford Riley Stoker Company's produce played an important part in the conservation of coal—a very scarce article at one time—during the war, enabling many plants to continue in operation that would otherwise have had to cease their work on vital war needs because of shortage of coal. The Baldwin Chain and Manufacturing Company produced a special chain for heavy ordnance howitzers, and also chains for tank trucks. The Johnson and Bassett Company were working at full capacity, producing spinning machinery for the plants making army overcoats, blankets, and so forth. The Worcester Machine Screw Company produced parts for the Browning Gun, Liberty motors, and tank motors. The Worcester Gaslight Company produced Toluol, Benzol, Naphthalene, and other by-products of gas-making. G. L. Brownell produced shoe machinery. The Coes Wrench

Company operated for many months solely on war contracts. The Stewart Boiler Works had some orders direct from the War Department; the J. R. Torrey Razor Company produced necessary equipment. Sleeper and Hartley invented, built and supplied to the arsenals and munition plants of the Allies a wide range of machinery for making springs and wire forms for small arms, automatic pistols, and other guns. 'They built what was probably the largest cold coiler ever produced, for the Renault people in France, for making springs not only for tractors and tanks, but for the famous heavy artillery of the French Army. There was scarcely a shell fired by the Allies on any front, which did not contain springs made up on these machines.' The United States Envelope Company greatly increased their production during war time, demand coming from government departments, and welfare organizations in particular. The Worcester Pressed Steel Company made millions of howitzer cases, also large numbers of steel scabbards, cartridge cases, steel helmets, booster casing for gas shells, heel plates for shoes, and many other army needs, the value of its production for war purposes increasing from $5,000 in 1914 to more than $2,250,000 in 1917. This volume was maintained throughout 1917 and 1918. The Boston Pressed Metal Company began to make Enfield scabbards for the British Government, in October, 1914, through the Remington Small Arms Company, other Worcester plants coöperating in parts of the work being the Gratan and Knight Manufacturing Company, and the Harrington-Richardson Arms Company. Altogether the Boston Pressed Metal Company had part in the making of 2,844,000 sets for scabbards. In 1916 it produced 600,000 nose pieces for rifles, and received many subsequent orders. They also made nose pieces for shells and grenades in millions. The variety and stupendous volume of production of other army material by this company are bewildering. The Morgan Spring Company made fencing masks and articles for trench warfare. This company 'was the only spring manufacturer to attempt and carry to a successful conclusion the entirely original and difficult problem of spring construction for the recoil mechanism of the French 75mm. gun.' The Woodward and Powell Planer Company supplied its specialty to arsenals, navy yards and ship yards under the control of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. About ninety per cent. of the card cloth and wire heddles from the Howard Brothers' Manufacturing plant went to government contractors. The William H. Bird Company manufactured mosquito bars and other hospital supplies. The Culver-Stearns Manufacturing Company furnished instrument lamps for aeroplanes; Moore and Company made pharmaceutical supplies; the Warren Leather Goods Company worked on orders for the Ordnance Department, Aircraft and Navy departments; the Wyman-Gordon Company were producing shell forgings in large quantities for the British Government quite early in the war

period, and later had important aircraft work, producing crankshafts. The Arcade Malleable Iron Company was running on war contracts, though indirectly, to the extent of perhaps ninety-five per cent. The Simple Player Action Company produced balancing machines for aeroplane propellors. J. A. Snyder and Sons were working wholly on war contracts for almost four years; the Sterling Worsted Mills operated night and day for eighteen months on soldiers' uniforms; the Coppus Engineering and Equipment Company produced blowers, also bronze casting for Browning guns; the business of the Cranska Thread Company was considerably swelled by war orders; the Standard Plunfer Elevator Company made lifts for the mine-laying vessels; on Heald Grinding Machines made in Worcester 'practically all cylinders for aviation motors, not only in this country, but in England, France and Italy, were finished,' the Heald Machine Company increasing their working forces from about two hundred to seven hundred and fifty during the war period. The Wiley-Bickford Sweet Company made wool-lined moccasins and other Red Cross supplies. The Leland-Gifford Company, which in normal times employed about six hundred men, had to very much increase its force during the war. They employed many women in the making of crankshafts, and other specialties. The Parker Wire Goods Company made wire reels, and chain attachments for Browning guns; the Powell Machine Company supplied tools for submarine repair shops; John Bath and Company, Inc., made gun parts day and night for three years, for Allied and home governments; the Worcester Brush and Scraper Company made cannon cleaners; the R. B. Phillips Manufacturing Company made fuse brushes, booster casings, and small conponent parts for fuses for the British Government; the Hobbs Manufacturing Company made a great variety of parts used in assembling howitzer carriages; the Eastern Bridge and Structural Company delivered material to the American Ordnance Base Depot in France Division, and the Wire Goods Company supplied a variety of hooks and eyes, hitching rings, wire garment hangers, steel door mats and similar hardware, also equipment for field kitchens. Later it supplied the Airplane Department with cotter pins, and the Medical Department with pot chains.

"Many other firms in Worcester no doubt had part in the great work of keeping the Man with the Gun supplied with all that he needed, and better supplied than his opponent was. When the soldier boys threw off their overalls, put on uniforms, and shouldered the gun, their sisters did not hesitate to don overalls and take the vacant places where they could in the machine shops and munition plants. Worcester also drew many skilled male mechanics from elsewhere. There were probably forty thousand workers in the local plants during the peak of war activity.

"One sees therefore, the reason why, on August 17, 1918, announcement was made that Worcester's war production zone ranked first at Washington. War Department officials referred to the Worcester production zone as the most satisfactory in the United States for efficiency, rapidity of output, and intelligent coöperation. Worcester was placed first, according to population, Pittsburgh next, and Detroit third."

There is no difficulty in presenting evidence of the industrial greatness of Worcester, county or city. If, as has been suggested, this leadership has been gained despite natural advantages, its greatness must be due to persons, rather than things. Men of means and of vision, canny investors and the enterprising speculators, have all played their parts upon its stage. More than the usual number of "founders" have reaped the rewards of their faith, and there has been manifest the New England tendency for manufacturing concerns to remain in the control of families over several generations. Another New England trait stands out in any consideration of the subject, Yankee ingenuity, or better, inventive genius. The writer of Crane's *History of Worcester County* said that "It must not be overlooked that to the brilliance and genius of native and naturalized sons of Worcester and Worcester County must be attributed a large measure of Worcester's success." Heading the list of the famous inventors of the county would come Eli Whitney and Elias Howe, inventors of the cotton gin and sewing machine. Macaulay said: "What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin has more than equalled in its relation to the progress and power of the United States." Yet Eli Whitney never enjoyed the benefits of his invention—the model was stolen from his workshop, it is said. Elias Howe sapped his vitality by ten years of grim litigious struggle before he began to benefit by his sewing machine. William Howe invented the truss wooden bridge; Lucius J. Knowles, the openshed cassimere loom and looms for weaving narrow fabrics; Jerome Wheelock invented the Wheelock engine; Erastus B. Bigelow invented the first carpet machine; William Crompton invented the first power loom for weaving fancy cottons; Charles Thurber invented a typewriter in 1843; Russell L. Hawes invented the first successful envelope-making machine in America; Loring and A. G. Coes invented the Coes wrench; Ichabod Washburn invented the first piano wire drawn in America; Thomas Blanchard the first loom for weaving irregular forms; A. W. Gifford, the first milled machine screws placed on the market; Charles Burleigh invented the first rock drill successfully driven by power; the Simonds family of Fitchburg, made the circular saw industry; Josiah Green was one of the first, if not the first, to use wooden pegs, in place of nails, for boots; Eli Bruce invented a machine for making pins out of wire, heading and pointing them ready for use; Thomas Keyes and David C. Mur-

dock invented a stopmotion, a machine used in the warping of cotton and woolen yarns, their machine being the only one used for the purpose for fifty years, and in demand in almost all the cotton mills of this and other countries. Leonard Dunnel Gale, of Millbury, or that part of Sutton which became Millbury, had more to do with the perfecting of telegraphy than had Morse, who goes into history as the inventor, although Morse admitted that: "If anyone has a claim to be mutual inventor it is Professor Gale." As a matter of fact, Professor Gale was pursuing investigations along a similar line, and with success, at the time Morse confided to him that he had failed to operate his own device. Morse had not much more than a theory, an inspiration; Gale had carried his own experiments to success, and instantly demonstrated that fact when Morse brought to his laboratory his unworkable contrivance. Nevertheless, Gale, like many other inventors, failed to profit by his device. However, inventions by Worcester County men have, during the last century, created many industries within and without the county.

Fitchburg—Second in industrial ranking, in the county, Fitchburg makes a better showing over a long period than Worcester in proportion to its population. As a city it celebrated its centennial in 1932, and some of its most important manufactures are as old as the municipality. A gazetteer of 1839 lists its three principal productions as woolen fabrics, cotton goods and paper to which might be added metal products. The order of importance has changed but they remain the four outstanding products, although, until very recent years Fitchburg's more than a hundred manufacturing establishments turned out an extraordinary variety of articles. A list of the products made in Fitchburg to within the last five years include: Armor plate, automatic sprinklers, auto trucks, awnings, babbitt lining metal, bicycles, books, brass casting, bricks, brooms, brushes, catalogs, children's suits, children's underwear, combs, condensers, cotton waste, cotton yarn, duck fabrics, electrical, envelopes, files, flour mills, gas, gingham, grinding machines, hack saws, hair pins, humidifiers, iron castings, lace curtains, lumber mills, machine knives, baling machines, machine tools, machinery, market gardens, mixo-beaters, newspapers, paper, paper bags, paper boxes, patters (castings), piping engineering, plating works, printing, revolvers, saws, shoes, shotguns, screen plates, steam boilers, steam engines, steam pumps, steel horse collars, steel plates, top roll covering, wagons, welding, wood novelties, wooden boxes, woolen fabrics, worsted yarn.

Natural resources have contributed a large share to Fitchburg's industrial expansion, notably the forests of a former day and the river which later brought the materials for wood pulp and furnished the power which not only changed the forest supplies into paper but furnished in modern times hydro-

electric power to turn the wheels of its factories. Given a nucleus of trained and skilled mechanics, workmen from all quarters of the globe, among whom those of English, Canadian, Irish and Scandinavian origin were outstanding, and add to this the enterprise and frugality of its native sons which to an astonishing extent financed, and retained in the family for generations, manufacturing concerns, and one has the ideal industrial center. The city has been a reservoir of artisans from which all America has drawn. The Wallaces and the Crockers, of whom three and four generations have remained in the direction of the paper industry to make the city second only to Holyoke as a maker of papers, are but representatives among the long-time leaders in Fitchburg.

Until the last decade, the output of the Fitchburg paper mills in pulp and paper represented nearly half of the total value of manufacturers in the city. As matters of record rather than as a study of present-day conditions when history of a sort is being made and unmade, consider the mills of Crocker, Burbank and Company, Inc., the Fitchburg Paper Company, Louis Dejonge and Company, and the Falalah Paper Company, which line the banks of the river, and in good years sold products to the value of $20,000,000. Quoting from *The Fitchburg Sentinel* of 1913:

"No concern has assisted more widely to the prestige of our city than Crocker, Burbank and Company, manufacturers of book, card, and Bristol papers, and as the business has been continued since 1850 under this firm name, its history is parallel with Fitchburg's period of greatest development and advancement.

. . . . . .

"The plant now comprises eight mills, and gives employment to seven hundred people. This result has been effected from a modest beginning when one stone mill was occupied, fifteen hundred pounds of paper manufactured, and a handful of people employed.

. . . . . .

"Its present (1913) payroll is one of the largest in the city. Add to this the expenses of administration, transportation, materials, and other items of organization and operation, and we find this corporation the centre of a wheel around which much of the prosperity of Fitchburg revolves.

"From the founding of the business in 1750 it was controlled by men who were interested in municipal development, as well as in their private affairs, and the Hon. Alvah Crocker will always be remembered as the man who secured the first railroad for Fitchburg, and was first president of the Fitchburg Railroad, and the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, in 1845. He engaged in the manufacture of paper by hand in 1826. In 1851 he formed

partnership with Gardner S. Burbank, and on the retirement of Mr. Burbank in 1866, other members of the Crocker family became associated with him, though he remained the head of the business until his death in 1876.

"Others who have been active in the concern are his son, the late Hon. Charles T. Crocker, who was ably fitted to carry on his father's strong business principles, and who directly is responsible for paper-making improvements which today are being universally used in the more modern mills: George F. Fay, S. E. Crocker, George H. Crocker, Alvah Crocker, Edward S. Crocker, and Charles T. Crocker, Jr. The business was incorporated in January, 1909, with George H. Crocker, president, and Alvah Crocker, secretary and treasurer."

Then, to quote from a later publication (1924):

"The Fitchburg Paper Company may be supposed to have had its beginning in the partnership of Rodney Wallace and Stephen Shepley, which partnership continued from 1853 to 1865, under the trading names of Shepley and Wallace, and later of R. Wallace and Company. They were wholesale paper dealers, but in 1865, while the partnership still existed, they formed the Fitchburg Paper Company, and acquired the Lyon Paper Mill and the Kimball Scythe Shops at West Fitchburg. The members of the company were Stephen Shepley, Rodney Wallace, and Benjamin Snow, but some time later Stephen E. Denton was admitted, and took charge of the manufacturing of paper in the Lyon Mill. In July, 1865, Stephen Shepley sold his interest to Wallace and Snow. The changes during the next few years were important: Mr. Denton died in 1866, and Mr. Snow's interest passed to Mr. Wallace in 1869. In the same year Mr. Wallace purchased the interest of the Denton estate, thus becoming sole owner of the Fitchburg Paper Company. In 1876 he erected a dam; in 1878 he built a new mill; two years later he built another, thus increasing his product of paper to six tons a day. Other expansion came steadily and by 1913 the company was producing seventy-five tons a day. In 1878 Mr. Wallace admitted his sons, Herbert I. and George R., into partnership. The father died in 1903, but the sons have continued very successfully to direct the affairs of the huge business, and several other important manufacturing enterprises in Fitchburg also. Some years ago Mr. Herbert I. Wallace retired from business affairs, and Mr. George R. Wallace has since been president of the Fitchburg Paper Company. His son, Major George R. Wallace, Jr., is vice-president.

"The Falalah Paper Company was founded in 1885 by Albert N. and Seth L. Lowe. Its specialty has always been calendared cardboard for show and advertising cards, and for almost forty years the company has had a high standard of excellence of product. Mr. Joseph A. Lowe is general manager.

"The Louis Dejonge Company, manufacturers of surface-coated paper, acquired the former, and almost new, plant of the Mitchell Manufacturing Company, at Cleghorn Street and Oak Hill Avenue, in 1900, and began to coat paper drawn from other mills. It is an important industry, and the company was employing about two hundred and fifty men a decade ago."

The Crocker family must be named again in connection with the paper business as constructors of machinery for paper mills, since 1872, although the business was started in 1867 as the Union Machine Company, for the purpose of making steam fire engines. An offshoot of this company was the Union Screen Plate Company, supposedly the largest producers of screen plates in the world. It was incorporated in 1903. The William A. Hardy and Sons Company, founded in 1850, and with the two sons, Walter A. and Frank O. Hardy, incorporated in 1902, originated and improved many processes utilized in screen-plating making, such as the Spring-Lockwood Screen-plate Fastener, of which the concern has been since 1910 sole manufacturer. Although only indirectly a part of the paper industry, the use of steam power in such industries gave rise to several important steam engine corporations, such as the Fitchburg Steam Engine Company, dating from 1872; the Brown Engine and Machine Company, for the start of which C. H. Brown was responsible, himself an inventor since 1850, and the head of the company since 1899, since when the Peraults, M. J., Moses J., Sr., Joseph F., and Moses J., Jr., have been the powers behind its expansion. There is also the Putnam Machine Company, established in 1836 by J. and S. W. Putnam, who were the creators of the Putnam Automatic Steam engine; the C. H. Cowdrey Machine Works, founded in 1875 by Charles H. Cowdrey, and continued after his death in 1896, by Henry E. and Charles F. Cowdrey, and there are many other firms that could be mentioned in connection with milling business, as contractors and makers of equipment, such as Wiley and Foss, the Jennison Company, Parks-Cramer Company, and others.

The textile industry, over a long period of varied fortunes, has been outstanding in Fitchburg's industrial affairs. The largest of the textile concerns, the Parkhill Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1880, by John Parkhill and Arthur Lowe, and carried on mainly under Lowe leadership, particularly Russell B., David and Arthur H. Lowe, has a nation-wide reputation for its woven wash fabrics. The Grant Yarn Company, organized in 1892, in which George P. Grant, the elder and younger, have been the directing persons; the Fitchburg Yarn Company; the Star Worsted Company, are all large corporations, specializing in the manufacture of yarns and allied materials. Among the other mills using these yarns are the large Orswell Mills, built in 1886, and the Nockege Mills, a subsidiary; the Beoli Mills, a subsidiary of the American Woolen Company; Shirriff's Worsted Company;

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF BUSINESS HEART OF WORCESTER

Photo by Paul W. Savage

and the Fitchburg Duck Mills, Arden and the Rodney Mills. The Lyon Manufacturing Company specializes in the fabrication of textile machinery, and to the production of machinery and metal products such firms contribute as the L. H. Goodnow, Fitchburg, and Welch foundries; the Fitchburg Machine Works, the Fitchburg Grinding Machine Company and the Universal Grinding Machine Company.

Without attempting to name all the many manufacturing plants which have given Fitchburg its standing in the industrial world, two more will be mentioned, the names of which and their productions are famous. Wherever lumbering operations have been carried on in the United States, and in many other parts of the globe, Simonds saws have been used. The Simonds Manufacturing Company not only makes almost every kind of a saw, but machine knives and similar implements. It was the first company to perfect the machinery and the use of machinery to reduce the amount of hand-labor in their productions and thereby increase evenness in quality and dependability of service. The Iver Johnson Arms and Cycle Works is known wherever firearms are sold, if only for the slogan "Hammer the Hammer" advertising its revolver. The company also was famous for its bicycles in the "gay 'nineties" and also after the World War it made even more of these handy means of transportation. It is the oldest company in the continued manufacture of bicycles. The history of both corporations as told by James P. Heaton in the October 9, 1922, issue of *Current Events* runs somewhat like the following:

Abel Simonds, who was born in Fitchburg in 1804, formed partnership with A. T. Farwell in 1832. They purchased a mill privilege in West Fitchburg in that year, and erected the shop with A. T. Farwell in 1832. They purchased a mill privilege in West Fitchburg in that year, and erected the shop which formed the nucleus of the immense Simonds saw-manufacturing establishment of today. Until 1851 the partners traded as A. T. Farwell and Company; from 1851 to 1864 Mr. Abel Simonds conducted the business independently. In 1864 he retired, and the firm of Simonds Brothers and Company was formed by his sons, Alvan A. and George F. Simonds, and an associate, Benjamin Snow. In 1868 the company secured corporate status, as the Simonds Manufacturing Company, the members of the firm then being George F., Alvan A., Thomas T., Daniel and Edwin F. Simonds. Until about 1878 the specialties were mower knives and planer knives. The mower-knife interest was sold in 1878, but the manufacture of saws was then taken up. Two years later, the first branch office, that at Chicago, was opened. The expansion of business throughout the world during the next three dec-

ades made it advisable to open nine other branch offices, and innumerable agencies, and also branch factories. In 1892 a factory was erected at Chicago, and a steel mill in the same city eight years later. In 1910 the steel mill was removed to Lockport, New York, the first steel rolled in the plant being on January 1, 1911. The Fitchburg was rebuilt in 1905-06, and in 1906 a factory was established at Montreal. In the same year the making of hack-saw blades and files was begun in a separate Fitchburg plant, and there has since been constant expansion of this branch. A branch factory was opened in Detroit in 1922. The factories of the Simonds Saw and Steel Company (which company was formed in 1922 to take over the assets and operations of the Simonds Company under the same executive personnel) find employment for about 2,200 persons, and produce an article well known throughout the world. George F. Simonds was president from 1868 to 1888, resigning in the latter year to form a new company. Daniel Simonds was president from 1888 until his death in 1913. His three sons, Alvan T., who has been president since 1913; Gifford K., who is now general manager; and Harlan K., who is now treasurer, were associated with him in the business for many years prior to his death. Alvan A. Simonds left the original firm in 1875.

The Iver Johnson Arms Company, which is perhaps as widely known as the Simonds Company throughout the world, was founded in 1871 by Iver Johnson and Martin Bye. The former, a Norwegian gunsmith, was then thirty-one years old, and had only been in the United States for eight years. The firm of Johnson and Bye began to make guns in a single room of a church building at Worcester. Two years later, two rooms in the Armsby Building, on Central Street were rented, and there fifty men were employed. In 1875 they purchased the whole building. In 1883 Mr. Johnson acquired the Bye interest, the trading name then changing to Iver Johnson and Company. Superior workmanship, and good business ability brought the Johnson revolver into world-wide demand. In 1885 the Iver Johnson biycle was put on the market; five years later, 15,000 bicycles were called for in one year. The need of more factory space then caused Mr. Johnson to purchase the Fitchburg factory of the Walter Heywood Chair Manufacturing Company, on River Street. To this plant he moved his Worcester equipment, and with the passing years added building after building until the Iver Johnson Arms and Cycle Works became one of the largest factories in Fitchburg. Iver Johnson died in Fitchburg in 1895, but for a few years his sons Frederick I., John L., and Walter O., had been assisted with him in the business; and they, with their mother's assistance, carried forward the huge establishment to further substantial expansion. John Lovell Johnson is now the president of the Johnson companies, of which is the Iver Johnson Arms and Cycle Works.

Leominster—Whatever its future may be, Leominster will be known as the "Comb City." It may no longer have the control of comb industry—a decade ago it possessed twenty-three out of the twenty-six comb and hairpin factories in Massachusetts, and this Commonwealth was the first among the states at that time—but this industry, older than the city, has been the means of making the name Leominster familiar to the people of the United States. In passing, however, it may be noted that the making of combs has never contributed more than a third of the values produced by the manufacturing establishments of Leominster, which has never been a one-industry city. A list of its industrial concerns of a decade ago include: Apple-parers, the Hudson Parer Company; automobile tops, Arvid S. Edmand; baby carriages, the F. A. Whitney Carriage Company; the Whitney Reed Corporation; baby toilet baskets, George W. Wheeler; brass founders, Leominster Brass Foundry; brush manufacturers, Leominster Brush Company; button manufacturers, Bay State Comb Company, the Damon Company, Lees Button Company; carriage and wagon maker, V. S. Merrill; comb and celluloid manufacturers, B. F. Blodgett Company, Cellu Products Company, the Damon Company, W. D. Earl and Company, Farrell and Hyland, Foster-Grant Company, Goodale Comb Company, Howe Comb Company, E. B. Kingman Company, Leominster Shell Goods Manufacturing Company, Model Comb Company, George Morrell, Inc., J. W. Pickering and Company, Queen Hairpin Company, Royal Comb Company, Standard Comb Company, Tenney and Porter, Tilton and Cook, United Comb and Novelty Company; cement building blocks, Leominster Modelled Block Company, G. Rosse and Son, F. A. Savage and Son; cork goods, Consolidated Cork Company; confectionery, Boston Confectionery Company, Leon B. Currier; doors, sash and blinds, W. A. Fuller Lumber Company; die manufacturers, Leominster Brass Foundry, Modern Tool and Die, Standard Tool Company; enamellers, Haldie Nicholson, Woodcraft Enamel Company, Sun Enamel Company; furniture manufacturers, Merriam Hall and Company; horn tips and plate, Horn and Supply Company; key manufacturers, Independent Lock and Key Company; leather goods (artificial), Pyrotex Leather Company; machine shops, Grimes and Harris, Standard Tool Company, Modern Tool and Die Company, Austin A. Smith; paper box manufacturers, Dodge Paper Box Company, Leominster Paper Box Company, Whitney and Company; paper manufacturers, G. W. Wheelwright Paper Company; piano case manufacturers, the Richardson Piano Case Company, the Wellington Piano Case Company; piano manufacturers, Haines Piano Company, Jewett Piano Company; shirt manufacturers, Cluett, Peabody and Company, Gold Button Shirt Company, Wachusett Shirt Company; tanners, Harrison and Company; toy manufacturers,

Rowley and Shaw, Lambert and Latimer, Whitney Reed Corporation; toilet paper manufacturers, Handifold Toilet Paper Company; Worsted cloth, Leominster Worsted Company; woolen yarn, Rockwell Woolen Company; wood novelties, the Leominster Novelty Corporation, Wood Novelty Company, Rowley and Shaw.

A century ago the chief industry in Leominster was the production of paper; in 1836 there were five paper mills. The first of these was built in 1796 by William Nichols and Jonas Kendall, near the site of the present Wheelwright mills. Fire and periodical financial panics played their customary rôles in the history of this mill, but by 1845 its successors had come into the hands of Samuel Bigelow, who, the following year leased the property to George A. Wheelwright, of Boston. Print and card papers were then the main products of the two machines in the mill. In 1865 the property was purchased by Mr. Wheelwright, and after his death in 1880, the concern incorporated under the trade title of the George W. Wheelwright Paper Company, with George Wheelwright, son of the founder, as president. He was, in 1914, succeeded by his son, George H. Wheelwright, Jr., as head of the company. In 1886 the mill was the first in America to make bristol boards, in which, together with index boards, it has since specialized, and of which, until recent years, it was a very large producer.

The weaving of woolens is almost as old in Leominster as the making of paper (1799), and is represented in modern times by the Rockwell Woolen Company, and the Leominster Worsted Company. The fabrication of pianos, and especially piano cases, is also one of the older industries, dating from 1845, and J. C. Lane. It was estimated a few years ago that nearly two-thirds of the piano cases made in this country were constructed in Leominster. The Richardson Piano Case Company, and the Wellington Piano Case Company, are the two largest of the modern companies. Jewett Piano Company, dating from 1891, because of a part of the M. Steinert and Company, of Boston, and to it was assigned the business of assembling the pianos marketed under the trade names, Jewett, Curtis, Berkshire and Woodbury. The strange story of the development of the F. A. Whitney Carriage Company, and of baby and doll carriage making as a whole, deserves many pages, and these have been given them in a brochure entitled *Chronicles of a Baby Carriage,* published in 1923. One paragraph from that authoritative publication reads: "From the single unit which comprised the plant in 1858 the F. A. Whitney Carriage Company has grown to an industry which requires for its housing twenty-nine buildings on twelve acres of land. So admirably are these buildings placed and so efficiently are the machines arranged, that the raw materials—wood, reed, iron, and steel—come in at one point, complete a circle and issue a completed carriage. From the plant baby carriages

go to nearly every town in America and Canada that is reached by railroad or by mail, and to the most distant parts of the world. Since its beginning the F. A. Whitney Carriage Company has been continually improving its product. The results of sixty-five years of untiring endeavor appear today, when its carriages go not only to the homes of the wealthiest families, but to those of the poorest as well."

Reverting to the phenomenal comb industry, of Leominster, its history as taken from the writings of an unknown compiler, briefly is as follows:

"The first to make combs in Leominster was Obadiah Hills. Wilder gives the year of his coming from Newbury in 1770; other records indicate that Hills did not acquire the Elias Carter house on Pleasant Street until 1774. Then, or soon afterwards, he began to make combs from horns, in the kitchen of that house, all of the work for many years being done by hand. There were about twenty persons engaged in that trade in 1793, about half of them being constantly employed therein, the yearly production being about 6,000 dozens, states Whitney. Most of them were working on horn, but Nathaniel Low, Jr., made ivory combs 'equally good perhaps as any imported from any country.' Among the early comb-makers were Silas Hills, a brother of Obadiah, and Smith Hills, their father. Others from Newbury or West Newbury were Joseph Tenney, Edward Low, John Chase, John Kendall, and Jotham (Jonathan) Johnson. John Buzzell used shell as well as horn. For several decades the combs were made wholly by hand; and some of the early makers would produce in a year about $500 worth of combs on a capital of $100. The first screw-press introduced was installed in the Hills shop; it was patented by McPherson Smith, its inventor, in 1818, and was installed about 1822. Prior to then, the Wedge-press was in general use. The first to think of labor-saving comb-making tools was John Buzzell; he made many. The first to use cotton clothballs for polishing was Jonas Colburn. Ward M. Cotton invented the automatic machine, with cams, for cutting combs. Michael Damon invented the swing-jaw cutting machine.

"The Damon Company is still among the Leominster comb makers, three generations of that family having continued the business. Murray C. Damon, the present head, is grandson of Michael Damon, a pioneer comb-maker. George R. Damon learned the trade under his father, Michael, and in 1865 was admitted to partnership, in the firm of Damon and Son. Later, George Damon joined the firm of Derby, Whitcomb and Company. In 1869 the firm of Look, Damon and Company was organized, and from 1881 until 1901 Damon Howe and Company operated the plant on Cotton Street. In 1901 the present company, the Damon Company, was incorporated by George R. Damon and his three sons, Russell H., Murray C., and Ralph E. Death and

retirement have taken all but Murray C. Damon, the present head of the firm.

"The Viscoloid Company, although only in its fourth decade, continues the enterprise of sole old Leominster companies. The Viscoloid Company was organized in 1901, by the following incorporators, who became first officers: Alexander S. Paton, president; Ludwig Stross, vice-president; Bernard W. Doyle, treasurer and secretary; the last-named being also general manager. A small factory was established for the making of Viscoloid sheeting, a pyroxylin plastic material used in the manufacture of combs and kindred articles. The Sterling Comb Company was organized by the same men, in same executive capacities in 1902, the purpose of this company being the manufacture of combs and hair ornaments from Viscoloid sheeting. Fire destroyed the plant in 1904, but it was rebuilt in the same year. Under same officers and management, the Harvard Novelty Company came into corporate being in 1906, its specialty being the manufacture of mounted combs and novelties from Viscoloid sheeting. Another company owned by the executives of the Viscoloid Company, but antedating that company in establishment was the Paton Manufacturing Company, which enterprise was begun in 1879. In 1897 the company was incorporated as the Paton Manufacturing Company, with Alexander S. Paton as president, and Bernard W. Doyle as treasurer and secretary. This company manufactured hairpins from horn and hoof, and for many years prior to 1897 was conducted independently by Mr. Paton, and before him by Mr. W. D. Summers.

"A reorganization of the Viscoloid Company in 1912 consolidated the four companies, Viscoloid, Harvard, Sterling and Paton, under the new Viscoloid Company, a Massachusetts corporation, capitalized at one million dollars, and having the following officers: A. S. Paton, president; Ludwig Stross, vice-president; B. W. Doyle, treasurer and general manager; D. J. Reagan, secretary. Another reorganization in 1923 increased the capital and added 'incorporated' to the firm-name; but the officers and management continued as before. The growth of the Viscoloid Company has been remarkable. In about two decades it has developed a manufacturing plant which covers about forty acres with sixty-two buildings upon it, and in them about sixteen hundred operatives find steady employment. The original plant of the Viscoloid Company employed about forty or fifty persons. Viscoloid sheeting was originally made for use in comb manufacturing and toilet articles, but many other markets have been developed, Viscoloid now finding use in the automobile, shoe, cutlery, and other lines.

"The B. F. Blodgett Company was founded in 1869, and engaged in the manufacture of horn hair ornaments and knife handles. Since 1893 celluloid

has taken the place of horn in their manufacture of hair ornaments, but the firm still uses horn for knife handles.

"The Goodhue Company was formed in the same year as the Blodgett Company, 1869; and in the same year the firm of W. D. Earl and Company was founded by William D. and Thomas A. Earl, brothers. Their specialties were horn combs and buttons. Thomas A. Earl retired in 1899, but his brother, William D., continued at the head of the company until 1911, when, at the age of eighty-one years, he retired also. His son, William B., took over the management, and is still treasurer of the firm. It was reorganized in January, 1912, as W. D. Earl and Company, Incorporated.

"The firm of Tenney and Porter was founded in 1883 by C. H. Tenney and Charles H. Porter. In the early years horn was their working material, but when celluloid came into use they were prompt to see its usefulness. It is said that the firm of Tenney and Porter was the second in Leominster to change from horn to celluloid, their specialty being hair ornaments. George A. Porter became sole owner in 1914. The Goodale Comb Company, at No. 93 Water Street, has been in existence since 1904. Warren H. Goodale entered into independent business as a comb manufacturer in 1900, in Leominster. In 1904 the Goodale Comb Company, which he owned, came into operation, specializing in horn hairpins and combs, and changing to celluloid in 1908. The Farrell and Hyland Company developed a plant that employed about one hundred operatives; Michael J. Farrell and John Hyland were the founders in 1912, and they began to make celluloid hair ornaments at No. 160 Pleasant Street. Mr. Hyland died some years ago. The Howe Comb Company was organized in 1903 by Charles H. Howe, treasurer, A. S. Paton, president, and George A. Marshall, secretary. Mr. Howe retired in 1913, and Mr. Marshall took his executive offices, Mr. Edward Earl becoming secretary. The firm specialized in celluloid novelties and horn hairpins. In January, 1924, the Standard Pyroxoloid Corporation was incorporated to combine the three plants of the Standard Comb Company. The assets and capital were in excess of $1,000,000, and the former officers of the Standard Comb Company were those of the new company,—J. Philip Legere, president; William H. Lane, treasurer; and J. Edmond Cooper. Its Nile Street plant was in a distinctive class, both in equipment and class, for there are only five companies in the country that in 1924 made the raw celluloid into sheet and rod form, the Viscoloid Company of Leominster being one of the largest. The Standard Comb Company was founded about 1906 by Messrs. Legere and Lane.

"The firm of J. W. Pickering and Company, manufacturers of celluloid hair ornaments and novelties was founded in 1899, by J. W. Pickering and

W. J. Metcalf who founded a partnership. They traded as Pickering and Metcalf until 1912, when Mr. Pickering acquired the interest of his partner. The E. B. Kingman Company, specializing in celluloid hair ornaments, knitting pins, tatting shuttles and novelties, was incorporated in February, 1904, with the following officers and directorate: Edward B. Kingman, president; Charles H. Howe, treasurer; Thomas C. Howe, secretary; Harry P. Howe. The Bay State Comb Company was established by A. L. Preston. Mr. Earl S. Fisher eventually became president, and with reorganization in 1918 became general manager and secretary."

Gardner—In more recent years many of the citizens of Gardner have come to resent the name by which it is famed, "Chair Town," or even more, "The Chair Town of the Universe." The objection to such titles is that they tend to create the impression that Gardner is a one-industry city, whereas it has about seventy manufacturing establishments and at its best in post-World War times the value of chair products, however great, was never more than half of the value of its factory products. In the last decade the chair business has suffered proportionately more than a number of other local industries. Nevertheless, when a place has been engaged in making chairs since the first years of the past century, and has exceeded in the numbers and value of these products any other place in the two hemispheres; when as many as 4,000,000 chairs have been turned out in a single year at an average value of three dollars each; and the total worth of the chairs made in the town or city, since the early days, is estimated as approaching a quarter of a billion dollars, it should not be hard to bear up under the name "Chair Town."

One James M. Comee, in 1805, began making wooden chairs in his home on Pearl Street, Gardner, most of the work being done by hand. He improved his product by weaving in "flag" seats, but later found that rattan was a more satisfactory material. His chairs sold well in Springfield, Worcester, Lowell, Boston, and the counties in which they were situated, so that he was compelled to enlarge his plant and employ helpers. Many of his hands later set up their own establishments. Elijah Putnam, after seven years of apprenticeship to James M. Comee, built a shop on Green Street, "about 400 feet from the old Windsor House." At first he used foot-power, later set up a windmill, later changed to horse-power, a tread mill, and still later to water power. He opened his first shop about 1825, but about 1838 bought the mill privilege later used by the John A. Dunn Company. Putnam introduced the cane seat to Gardner. In his employ was one John Comee, presumably a kinsman. The latter saw the process of cane-seating for the first time when passing through Connecticut. The chairs were made in the State Prison. He brought one of the seats to Gardner, in 1832 or 1833, and

Putnam began to make such seats, which "after being bored with holes for the cane were sent around to families far and near to be seated." The brothers Levi and Walter Heywood began to make chairs in a shop they built "in the home yard," at the corner of Woodland Avenue and Central Street, in 1826. They had a foot lathe, but all other operations were by hand. In 1834, a year after Seth Heywood had joined his brothers, the shop was burned, and was not rebuilt. Still, according to one account, they then had another factory, the firm of B. F. Heywood and Company having, in 1830, acquired the water-right and chair-stock shop of Merrick Wallace, the site of which is still occupied by the Heywood-Wakefield plant. The firm of B. F. Heywood & Company, consisted of Levi, Walter, Benjamin F., and William Heywood. They erected a larger plant, and continued actively. However, in 1841, Levi Heywood bought the interest of Walter, the latter going to Fitchburg, and here building a shop upon part of what is now the site of the Iver Johnson Arms Company plant. Seth continued with Levi until 1844, when Levi Heywood and General Moses Wood formed the firm of Heywood and Wood. Such was the origin of the Heywood-Wakefield Company, whose great plant in prosperous times employed as many as eighteen hundred people. Four generations of the Heywood family have been leaders in the business. Among other old and prominent families connected with the chair industry are: Pierce, Nichols, Stone, Brainard, Brooks, Dunn, Brown, Howe, Carlton, Rothlis, Earle, Tarr, Denney, Connell, Hobby, and others, the biographies of many of whom in this work will give many items of interest to the student of chair-making industry.

From cane chairs to baby carriages was no long step, and was taken by Levi Warren (1868) in connection with the making of toys. As a business it dates from the early eighteen 'seventies and the firm of Ramsdell and Goodall. Later firms in this line were the Collier-Keyworth, Hedstrom Union, and Gem Crib and Cradle Companies. The Florence oil and gas stoves, known for a third of a century are made by the Central Oil and Gas Stove Company, of Gardner. The Frank H. Smith Company has made a name for itself in silverware. The Simplex Time Recording Company was a pioneer in the fabrication of devices for keeping track of employees' time. Textiles, undertakers' supplies, foundry productions, machinery, printing, corsets, clothing, are also included in the manufactured products of Gardner.

The four Worcester County cities already noted herein account for more than half of the manufacturing products of the county, as measured by their values. But towns, such as Clinton, Northbridge, Southbridge, and Webster, compare favorably with Leominster and about equal Gardner.

Clinton is the place of origin of the great Clinton-Wright Wire Company, a combination of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, the Wright Wire

Company, the Morgan Spring Company, and the National Manufacturing Company, the consolidation being completed in June, 1919. Members of the Bigelow family were not only responsible for the inception of this immense corporation, but for much of the development of Clinton. One of the first cotton mills in the United States was established in Clinton, or "Factory Town," as it was called in the days of its youth. Out of this grew the Lancaster Cotton Company, in 1821, whose mills were leased by the brothers Horatio N. and Erastus B. Bigelow. The latter-named was the inventor then of two power looms, and during his long career contributed many other inventions to industry. One of the two looms was devised for weaving figured quilts and the other for making coach lace, then in great demand since stagecoach travel was in its heyday. Companies were founded for manufacturing both of these products, the Clinton Company, and the Lancaster Quilt Company. Eventually, Charles H. Waters adapted the Bigelow looms to the weaving of wire into various cloths and materials. With H. N. Bigelow he formed the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, in 1856. A factory was built the following year, and at the time of Mr. Waters' death in 1883 this company could claim "to be the largest manufactory of woven wire goods in the world," turning out annually fifty million square feet. Note has already been taken of its consolidation with other corporations in 1919 to create the largest combination of wire goods manufactures extant.

The old Clinton Company was lost in the Bigelow Carpet Company, when the stagecoach went out of style. The latter company added the Clinton Company mills to its own wool cleansing and spinning facilities. A large worsted mill was completed in 1866, and dam rebuilt. After the death of Horatio N. Bigelow in 1865, his son Henry N. Bigelow was appointed manager of the new department and Charles J. Swan became manager of the weaving mill. In 1881 Henry N. Bigelow was succeeded, as managing agent of the company by his brother, Charles B. Much expansion had come, with newly invented looms for making Axminster carpeting. In 1888 the company was making Wilton, Axminster and Brussels carpeting, and employing about 1,200 operatives, with equipment of two hundred and forty looms. The expansion has been about doubled since that time.

The Lancaster Quilt Company was succeeded, in 1859, by James Reed and Company, in 1873 by the Clinton Yarn Company, and in later years was incorporated as the New England Woolen Mill. The Lancaster Mills, another offshoot from the mother concern, expanded rapidly in the direction of the production of ginghams, the output in the 1890's rising to about 45,000,000 yards. Then came the shirtwaist era, and Lancaster Mills expanded its textiles to include many varieties of cotton goods. Incidentally, "Lancaster Mills was the first large manufacturing concern in New England to adopt

this method of transmitting power," the reference being to the generation of electricity and conveying it to motors conveniently placed. Other textile mills in Clinton are the Belle Vue, Earnsdale, Roubaix, and Sterling plants. Other Clinton industrial concerns include: The Gibbs Loom Harness and Reed Company, Clinton Foundry and Machine Company, Osborne Company, William A. Fuller Company, nearly all of long establishment.

Southbridge—Fifth in population and industrial importance in the county, is the center of the American optical business, and for more than a century the seat of the Hamilton Woolen Company. The latter corporation, now a subsidiary, goes back to the ancient fulling and scouring mill of William Plimpton, of 1758 or earlier. By 1812 the plant was making cotton yarn and a new impetus was given to the business in 1814 by the reorganizing of the holding concern as the Globe Manufacturing Company. James Wolcott, Jr., about 1816, formed another firm to make woolen goods, which combined with the Globe Company, in 1819, as the Wolcott Woolen Manufacturing Company. Power looms were installed in 1824, against the opposition of the hand weavers. Then the destruction of the dam and the periodical business depressions that plague industry, threw this plant of the company upon the market. It was purchased, in 1830, by men who organized the Hamilton Woolen Company, on January 17, 1831.

Few industries are so subject to change as the making of textiles, and the Hamilton Company was no exception. It was interested in cottons prior to the Civil War, then in wools, but did not discard its cotton machinery until the World War period. The story of the cloth coming under the head of delaines would contain most of the history of the variations in weaving in Southbridge for the last ninety years. Delaines were first made in America at Hookset, New Hampshire, but not long after, in 1844, the Hamilton Mills began turning out muslin delaine, with a cotton warp and worsted filling. This fabric in one form or another has been in and out of style a dozen times, with gain or loss to the makers. It is similar to the well liked Danish Cloth, or Danish Poplar Cloth, both trade names so well-liked a few years ago, which is again returning to popularity.

In connection with reviews of the lives of several members of the Wells family, George W. Wells, in particular, the romantic history of the spectacle business in Southbridge has been written. In 1833 one William Beecher began the hand production of this important article in the village; a century later the village was the seat of the American Optical Company, employing about two thousand men and one thousand women in the making of almost every type of optical and optician's supplies. H. C. Wells entered the business, in 1851, and George W. Wells, in 1864. The latter-named, by his inven-

tive genius, and by his energetic promotion of nearly every phase of the industry, contributed more than any other man to the creation of the American Optical Company, oldest and largest of its kind. The biography of George W. Wells, in this work, contains the brief account of the founding, growth, and the present status, of this famous American concern. There are other optical companies in Southbridge, such as the Central and the De Paul Young Optical Company, just as there are other textile mills than the Hamilton, such as the more than century-old Dresser Manufacturing Company and the Central Mills, and there are more than twenty other manufacturing establishments in Southbridge.

Northbridge—The industrial history of the town of Northbridge centers chiefly in Whitinsville, and largely in the enterprises of the Whitin family. A review, of 1922, said in part:

"Whitinsville, it may be said, represents most adequately the work and achievements of one great family, extending through several generations and dating back to the early days of this country's history when Col. Paul Whitin, of Revolutionary fame, first commenced to serve his apprenticeship as a blacksmith in the town of Northbridge.

"Paul Whitin, by his great strength of character, his industry, and perseverance, made his name famous in his own day, and since that time his sons and his sons' sons have done likewise, until today the names of Whitin and Whitinsville are highly honored in all sections . . . where the great textile industry has spread. . . . .

"For a great many years the town of Whitinsville has been known as the home of the Whitin Machine Works, one of the largest . . . . textile-machinery manufacturing concerns in the world.

"Likewise, the town of Northbridge has become known to the textile authorities of the United States as the place where some of the finest quality of cotton cloth known to the trade is manufactured.

"The manufacture of cotton cloth and textile machinery constitutes the only manufacturing business of the town of Northbridge, and as far back as 1875 the capital invested in the manufacture of machinery alone is listed at $605,000, with annual output of finished product of more than $900,000, figures which in those days spelled supremacy. . . .

"Those figures, considered large in those days, are really significant when compared with those of the last industrial census taken in 1920, which gives the total capital invested in manufacturing in Northbridge as $17,437,578, and the grand total of the production of the manufacturing plants of the town as $17,000,000. . . .

"This is the everlasting monument . . . . to mark the success . . . . of Paul Whitin, and to which every member of the Whitin family has contributed since."

Webster—One of the almost forgotten heroes of the history of textiles in the United States is Samuel Slater, immigrant to America from England, in 1789, who carried in his head the forbidden knowledge of Arkwright's power cotton spinning machinery. Arkwright had by his inventions multiplied the spindle of the hand-worker by many times, and thereby laid the foundations of England's supremacy in the field of textiles. As indicated in earlier paragraphs, the British made every effort to monopolize all knowledge and machinery that would help them gain and retain that supremacy. It was impossible, however strong the barriers raised against the smuggling of mechanical knowledge in tangible forms, to prevent Arkwright from bringing to Massachusetts his training and information and inventive ability. Slater was his apprentice when the master, in 1789, started Rhode Island in the making of textiles on a factory scale. Webster comes into the picture as the place where the first power woolen mill was built in the United States. It was erected by Slater and Tiffany, and from 1818 the mills were operated by Mr. Slater almost to his death in 1835. His son held full control for another forty-five years, retiring in 1888, and his son, Horatio N. Slater, Jr., was the head until 1899, whereafter it was in charge of the trustees who administered his vast holdings. The Slater Mills, the largest in the country, and for many years the mainstay of Webster, have been particularly noteworthy for the immense amounts of woolens and worsteds turned out in times of war, including the Civil, Spanish and World wars. Of the other textile mills in Webster, were the Chase Mills of American Woolen Company, A. F. Jealous, agent; fancy woolens and worsteds. Daniel E. Cummings, Main Street, shoddy manufacturer; Intervale Mills, Inc.; Puritan Mill, manufacturing woolen goods for children's wear; Merritt Woolen Company (taken over by Packett Mills, Inc.); Packard Mills, Inc., woolens, women's wear; Estate of Josiah Perry, Inc., fancy cassimeres (mill at Dudley); Perry Yarn Mills, wool yarns for weaving and knitting; S. Slater and Sons, Inc., mills at North, South, and East Webster as under: Cotton Mill, sateens, silesias, percalines, linings, shortings and cordings; Woolen Mill, specialties, flannels, broadcloths, carriage cloths, doeskins, serges, cheviots, tricots, kerseys, Army and Navy cloths, suitings, etc.; Converting Mill, bleaching, dyeing, and printing of sateens, silesias, percales, linings and shirtings. Stevens Linen Works, specializing in linen crash toweling. Webster Dye and Yarn Mills, Inc., shoddy and yarns; commission carding, spooling, winding, twisting. Specializing on carpet yarns. Webster Spinning

Company, Inc., commission spinning, manufacturing carpet, knitting and weaving yarns.

Since Henry E. Bugbee introduced shoe manufacturing in 1843, this was over a long period the second in importance of the industries of Webster. Under changing ownerships, the Bugbee enterprise survived until 1873 when the plant was burned. Among the other great names in the shoe business are those of: Emory E. Harwood, Charles A. Angell, James D. Tourtellot, an associate of Bugbee, together with Charles E. Brown, William, B. A., and Chester C., Corbin, A. J. Bates.

Athol is the home of the L. S. Starrett Company, whose fine mechanical tools find a market all over the world. It was started in 1868, by Leroy S. Starrett to manufacture his inventions, of which the meat chopper was then the chief. It is thought to be the largest manufacturing center in its line, the makers of at least twelve hundred types of mechanics' fine tools, the most of which are of Starrett's invention. These are remarkable examples of accuracy in shop work, and known far and wide. The Starrett corporation is only one of some thirty factory establishments in Athol, although the most valuable. *Milford* has about the same number of factories as Athol, and the annual value of its productions is somewhat less. It no longer has the Hopedale establishment, and the Draper Corporation, but has retained the Hopedale Manufacturing Company, makers of the Nordray loom, and a variety of other manufactures. The Draper Corporation, of Hopedale, with its subsidiaries, are the largest manufacturers of cotton machinery in America, and the largest makers of cast metal parts in New England. *Millbury,* states its historian, "has been the location of industries large and small, covering a wide range of productions, extending from the peaceful penknife to the powder of the battlefield, the small shuttle-eye to the massive eccentric lathe." Textiles hold the foremost place in the industrial life of *Uxbridge,* which has many mills. Of *Winchendon* one has but to repeat the various cognomens applied to it to have a picture of its industrial history. In their order it has been called "Shingleville," "Home of the Woodenware Manufacture," a monument to the Yankee jack-knife, "Toy Town," and the "Nuremburg of America." The town, however long and much it has depended upon wooden products, has quite a variety of industrial interests. *Grafton's* textile mills, but a half dozen in number, turn out probably the greatest average value of products, in normal times. The prosperity of *Leicester* is closely related to textiles. It was one of the early centers of the carding industry, with Edmond Snow, the pioneer, in 1775, and Pliny Earle and his brothers the most noted.

Dudley ranks seventeenth in industrial importance among the sixty-one incorporated places in Worcester County, and has the fewest manufacturing plants of the larger producers. Milford, Millbury, Uxbridge, Grafton, Leicester, Winchendon and Dudley turn out annually within twenty per cent. of each other, as regards values of products, but as regards manufacturing establishments vary from eight to thirty-eight.

CHAPTER XLVI

The Era of Electric Power

The modern system of electric supply from a central source was inaugurated at a time within the memory of men still living and active. On an ordinary brick structure on Pearl Street, New York, is a bronze tablet with this inscription: "In a building on this site an electric plant, supplying the first Edison underground central station system in this country and forming the origin of New York's present electric system, began operation on September 4, 1882, according to plans conceived and executed by Thomas Alva Edison."

About the same time another Edison generating station was started in Appleton, Wisconsin, and while the dynamos in New York were driven by steam engines, water wheels were used to drive the generators at Appleton. At first the Edison companies were to be found only in a few cities and engaged only in the lighting business. Massachusetts was quick to take advantage of this new method of providing illumination and the organization of Worcester Electric Light Company on December 26, 1883, marked the beginning of the development of the electric industry in Worcester County.

Credit for creating the electric central station system for light and power clearly belongs to Mr. Edison, for he conceived, invented and perfected not only the incandescent lamp and the electric generator to supply the electricity, but also the system of wiring by which one lamp could be turned out without affecting the burning of the others on the same circuit. But the great development of the modern system of generating and distributing electric service was shared by a multitude of people engaged in a gigantic coöperative undertaking between those who worked with their heads, those who worked with their hands, and those who worked with their savings.

During the early stages of the industry, the supply of electricity was available from the time of approaching darkness in the late afternoon or evening until eleven o'clock at night. The generating plant was operated dur-

ing those limited hours of service by one man acting as a fireman in the boiler room, an engineer in the dynamo room, and he also operated the switchboard from which electricity was distributed. During the daytime when the plant was shut down the same man made all repairs in the generating plant and also repaired and constructed the street circuits that carried electricity to the consumers. In many communities this lone employee was also responsible for the collection of charges made for the service. Naturally the magnitude of service delivered under such limitations was restricted to a very small area and few consumers when the business was in its infancy.

The conduct of the business during the period of its early development required great courage and fortitude on the part of those who had invested their money. Many of the pioneer investors lost heart and abandoned the industry, but, except in a few of the smaller towns, the electric companies in Worcester County survived the early handicaps and financial losses because they were established and conducted by a sturdy group of able, alert and brilliant men, many of whom were leading merchants or manufacturers who gave their time and money solely as a contribution to the industrial and social progress of their communities. In the history of each Worcester County electric company, one quickly recognizes the names of such men, because their names have long been identified with great stores or large industries in which the public have confidence, or they may be recognized as leaders in the professions; but seldom is it known that these are the very men who have directed the course that marks the development of the electric industry in Worcester County.

From 1882 to 1933 is not very long as time is counted—it is less than a lifetime. Yet in usefulness and advancement, what strides have been made! Greater human progress has been made than in all the preceding ages.

The uses for electrical energy are legion. It has become the universal servant of mankind. We find its applications everywhere; in the home, the factory, the store, the office and out on the farm. It has brightened up the world. It has brought much of comfort, convenience and pleasure; it has annihilated time and space; it has multiplied man's power; it has brought within the reach of people in humble circumstances many blessings that the kings of old could not have.

In a span of less than half a century the method of generating, transmitting, distributing and consuming electricity has been revolutionized several times. In the early 'nineties slow speed electric generators directly connected to reciprocating engines replaced the old belt driven generator. This was the first step in reducing the investment per kilowatt of generating

capacity, thereby reducing the operating cost of producing energy. Then came the use of high voltage alternating current transmission lines with substations located at distributing points remote from the generating station. The combination of higher efficiency generators and high voltage transmission lines with substations from which the electricity was distributed still further reduced the costs of operation. This economy forced the abandonment of small generating stations and the massing of production on a larger scale.

Reciprocating engines were built in capacities as high as 5,000 horsepower and the volume of energy produced increased so rapidly that a demand developed for prime movers of greater size, lower investment cost and lower operating cost. This resulted in the development of large steam turbine-driven generators, which operate today in units of 100,000 horsepower. During the early development of steam generating stations, progress was also being made in designing water wheels of high efficiency that were to be used in converting the power of falling water into electric energy that could be transmitted from the source of power supply to the consumer over the same transmission and distribution systems that were used to distribute electricity generated by steam. Worcester County streams, while relatively small, had for many years provided a mechanical source of power for the operation of industry. Manufacturers gravitated to these points where water power was available, and around had grown the villages and later the towns and cities of Worcester County.

As these industries grew in size, however, they required power in much greater quantity than Worcester County streams could supply and steam generated power was used to supplement water power. In addition numerous state laws regulating the corporate activities and the financing of local electric light companies made it impossible for any individual company to operate on a high efficiency basis. Just after the turn of the century it became apparent to leaders in the electrical industry that radical changes were necessary in order to provide this efficiency and bring down the cost of electrical energy.

Out of this well-recognized fact came the beginning of power systems. In New England the system idea originated in 1907 when construction began at Vernon, Vermont, of a power plant which was to become the pioneer plant of New England's largest power system. This plant at Vernon was built by the Connecticut River Power Company and this company is still in existence, although through a series of corporate changes of great significance, it is now a subsidiary of New England Power Association, one of the most important of the power systems of the United States.

The Vernon plant is of great historical significance as it was the first time in this part of the country that an attempt had been made to transmit hydro-

electric energy for long distances. The transmission line from Vernon ran to Pratts Junction in the vicinity of Clinton, from which point it was distributed among a number of manufacturing establishments in that vicinity.

The two men who conceived the idea of transmitting the energy in the Connecticut River to factories sixty miles away were Henry I. Harriman of Boston and Malcolm G. Chace of Providence, Rhode Island. At the time they were regarded as visionaries. It was extremely difficult for them to obtain financial backing for their schemes. In the early years there were many times when it seemed that their scheme would totter from lack of support. But they were able to carry through and both these men have today risen to a place of eminence in national affairs. Mr. Harriman for more than twenty years was the chief executive of the rapidly expanding New England Power System. Since his retirement from the active direction of the system a few years ago, he has devoted himself to civic activities and in 1932 was elected president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Chace has also extended his activities beyond the power field and today is a leading figure in the field of textile manufacturing.

The Vernon plant went into operation in 1909 and power began to flow over the sixty-mile transmission line to Pratts Junction. The first customers for this power were a number of industrial plants in the northern end of Worcester County. The Lancaster Mills of Clinton, at that time one of the largest textile plants in the country, obtained its entire power and lighting requirements from transmission lines that brought water power from the Vernon Plant in Vermont into the town of Clinton. About the same time the Marlborough Electric Company abandoned the operation of its own generating station to purchase electricity supplied from the same source for distribution to the Worcester County towns of Berlin, Bolton, Northborough, Westborough and Southborough. The Fitchburg Gas and Electric Company arranged to obtain a portion of its power requirements from the same source.

The hydro-electric plant at Vernon was built by the Connecticut River Power Company, but the transmission lines were constructed and operated by a subsidiary known as the Connecticut River Transmission Company. The latter company obtained legislative authority to supply power directly to large industries, and in Fitchburg Crocker-Burbank & Company, Parkhill Manufacturing Company, Falulah Paper Company and DeJonge Paper Company were prompt in taking advantage of this source of power supply.

In 1910 the Connecticut River Transmission Company extended its lines to the city of Worcester for the purpose of supplying the American Steel and Wire Company and many large industries in the Greendale section of

Worcester. The transmission lines reaching Clinton and Worcester passed through many small Worcester County communities where central station electric service had not previously been provided. Private capital had been reluctant to venture into these smaller communities in view of the rural character of the territory which required a relatively large investment in distribution lines for a comparatively small use of electricity. Many of these municipalities established their own lighting departments raising the necessary funds for investment through taxation. Such a step had previously been avoided because of the high cost of establishing and operating generating stations for the very limited use of electricity required in small communities, but the extension of the lines of the Connecticut River Transmission Company through these small communities made it possible for them to have the convenience of electricity by providing only the necessary substation and distribution lines.

The success attained by the Connecticut River Transmission Company in developing a market for power generated at Vernon led to the development of the Deerfield River where several hydro-electro plants were constructed, and, in 1913, water power obtained from these additional sources was transmitted to the communities in Worcester County. In the same year, due to a consolidation of companies, the name of the transmission system was changed to that of New England Power Company. In 1914 this latter company extended its transmission lines in a southerly direction through the Blackstone Valley, through Woonsocket, Pawtucket and Providence.

The outbreak of the World War added greatly to the demand for power by industries of Worcester County and elsewhere and stimulated the further development of the New England Power Company's system. Nearly all of the electric lighting companies in Worcester County abandoned their own steam generating plants and obtained their entire requirements for electricity from the New England Power Company. Provided with an abundant supply of power, and relieved of the necessity of constantly furnishing additional capital for new generating plant equipment, these privately operated electric companies in Worcester County and surrounding Massachusetts territory were able to concentrate their activity and investments entirely in the field of distributing electricity, and the development of wider markets for its use. This stimulated the extension of distribution lines into rural territory and the farmers of Worcester County were able to obtain electricity for use in their homes and in the production of poultry, dairy and other farm productions. Although the electric companies in each community were relieved of the necessity of providing their own source of power, this added, however, to the need for greater development on the part of the generating and transmission company,—the New England Power Company.

The various stages through which the electric industry has passed have been characterized partly by replacing some existing service that previously filled public wants, but also in a larger way by supplying an altogether new field not touched before.

Electric lighting has not only become a social convenience and a necessity, but it has enhanced real estate values many times, and the many millions of electrical labor saving devices which are in daily use in the homes have forever banished the domestic drudgery that housewives were subjected to only twenty-five years ago.

The adaptation of electricity has not only greatly lightened the task of men and women,—yes children too, who are employed in industry, but it has many times increased the production of each worker, thereby increasing the earning power and the amount of leisure available to them. Electricity, more than any other single factor, has contributed its part to bring about shorter hours of employment and higher wages in American industry.

Because of its importance in every phase of human activity, it is constantly under the spot light of public interest. Laws have been created to regulate the price charged for the service and to restrict properly the sale of corporate securities by which money is provided for the constant enlargement of facilities. Massachusetts has long been committed to a policy of public regulation of the utilities which supply its citizens with electric service. Conservative laws have induced many thousands of its thrifty citizens to invest their savings in the industry, to the extent that a comparatively large portion of the consumers own an equity in the electric company that supplies this essential service in their community.

Prior to the beginning of the great business and industrial reaction which now grips the whole world, the markets for the wider use of electricity were constantly expanding. Today finds the market for electricity in industry almost completely absorbed, and the history of the past several years indicates that in almost every line of industry there has been developed a producing capacity which exceeds the requirements of the American people. Hence, there is no immediate prospect of a continued expansion of the use of additional power in industry. Utility companies had foreseen this event and were applying themselves to the development of the further use of electricity in the homes, but any increase in the use of electricity in homes depends not only upon the ability of the consumer to pay for the additional electricity, but he must be financially able to purchase new electrical appliances to use such electricity. Loss of employment and reduced wages have sent economic distress not only into the homes of wage earners, but into almost every American home. The purchase of new appliances has been likewise very seriously restricted, although many appliances, such as the electric

refrigerator and the electric range, have found their way into the homes of the more fortunate in greater numbers than ever before.

The general trend of electric appliance sales is, however, downward. Electric companies will be unable to fully recover the decline in output, occasioned by the great depression in industry and business, until prosperity again returns to the home. Meanwhile, every possible economy in the production and the distribution of electricity must be developed. Just as mass production has already taken its place in many other industries, it must be extended in the electric industry. Small distribution systems must be consolidated with larger ones to eliminate unnecessary operating expense. Many of the operating details of a small company involve almost as great a cost of administration as those of larger companies serving many fold the number of customers. Generally, larger systems render a better character of service at a lower cost to the public, possibly because they can employ a higher degree of engineering and management skill; but, due to the comparatively greater number of customers served, the unit cost of such service is actually less than in smaller companies that cannot afford to employ highly competent management.

Then again there are many economies available by linking together generating and distributing facilities and these economies ultimately manifest themselves in better service at a lower cost. Even corporate structures can be simplified by consolidation with a resultant decrease in corporate expense and a more diversified and reliable equity for the security holder who has invested in this great industry.

Many of the original operating companies in Worcester County are now owned by, or are affiliated with, the New England Power Association, which also owns the New England Power Company, the organization that filled such an important place in bringing to the many communities in Worcester County electricity generated from water power hitherto undeveloped on remote New England streams.

Back of the switch that responds so readily to your command are immense dams holding back the power of mighty rivers and storage reservoirs, with great flumes leading that power into the water turbines that turn the electric generators and convert that power of falling water into electric current. Supplementing those sources of supply are mammoth steam plants on New England ocean fronts where hundreds of tons of coal are hourly fed under long lines of boilers furnishing steam to the turbo-generators which convert the power of coal into electric energy for your use.

Crews of men in those generating plants labor day and night, every minute, year in and year out, always on the alert to see that the full amount of electricity called for by every consumer is ready for instant delivery. Other

crews of men are patrolling the lines that connect these distant power plants with every home, store, factory, hospital, church, theatre or place where electricity is used. Linemen are hooked to their life belts high up in the air on poles or steel structures, with their precious bodies wriggling to and fro, skillfully performing their work, straining every muscle and exercising every caution to avoid the dangers incident to this great task. Rain and sleet and the darkness of night often increase the hazard and hinder these linemen while they work unceasingly to maintain a constant supply of electricity.

Back at the office engineers are planning new facilities or improvements in existing facilities. Accountants are busy providing for the monetary requirements of this great industry. These and a multitude of other management details are performed by the New England Power Association for those who use electric service in Worcester County.

A study of the personnel of the New England Power Association reveals the names of many young men born and reared in Worcester County, foremost among whom is the president of this great organization, Frank D. Comerford, born in the city of Worcester in 1893, the son of a Worcester merchant, and a graduate of Worcester Classical High School, Holy Cross College, and Harvard Law School.

After graduating from Harvard Law School in 1917, Mr. Comerford became associated with the well-known Boston law firm of Ropes, Gray, Boyden & Perkins. He soon became the assistant to Archibald R. Graustein, then the public utility expert of that law firm and when Mr. Graustein in 1921 left Boston to begin the work of rehabilitating the International Paper Company, Mr. Comerford succeeded to his responsibilities in the public utility activities of the firm. By 1924 he was a member of the firm and in the following two years was in charge of most of the legal work which preceded the organization of the New England Power Association in 1926.

In the fall of 1927 when President Harriman decided to retire, the directors of the company selected Mr. Comerford as his successor. Although only 34 years old at the time and regarded as a stripling by some of the titans of the utility industry, Mr. Comerford demonstrated in a very short time that he was able to swing the heavy responsibilities of the job. Under his direction the New England Power Association in the summer of 1928 began the construction of the largest hydro-electric plant ever built in this part of the country. This was located at Fifteen Mile Falls on the upper Connecticut River. It was completed in the fall of 1930 and has been in constant and successful operation ever since. Subsequently the directors of New England Power Association changed the name of this hydro-electric plant from fifteen Mile Falls to the Frank D. Comerford Station, as a tribute to the young president who had carried the project through to successful completion.

Another Worcester man who has had a large share in the building up of the New England Power system is Carl S. Herrmann. Born in Worcester in 1890, he was educated in the Worcester schools and as a young man began work in the accounting division of the American Steel & Wire Company. In 1912 Mr. Herrmann went to work for the newly formed Connecticut River Power Company. He so quickly demonstrated executive qualities of the highest order and as a result of a series of steady promotions he was made treasurer of New England Power Association when it was formed in 1926. He is at present the treasurer and chief accounting executive of more than one hundred electric light and power companies.

In fact, the organization which was to become the New England Power system was so exclusively a Worcester activity in its formative years that a great many of its important executive places are today filled with men from Worcester County.

WORCESTER COUNTY TOWNS SUPPLIED WITH ELECTRICITY.

CODE
A.—Companies owned, operated or managed by N. E. P. Association.
B.—Companies *not* owned, operated or managed by N. E. P. Association.
—1. Total requirements supplied by N. E. P. Association.
—2. Part of requirements supplied by N. E. P. Association.
—3. None of requirements supplied by N. E. P. Association.

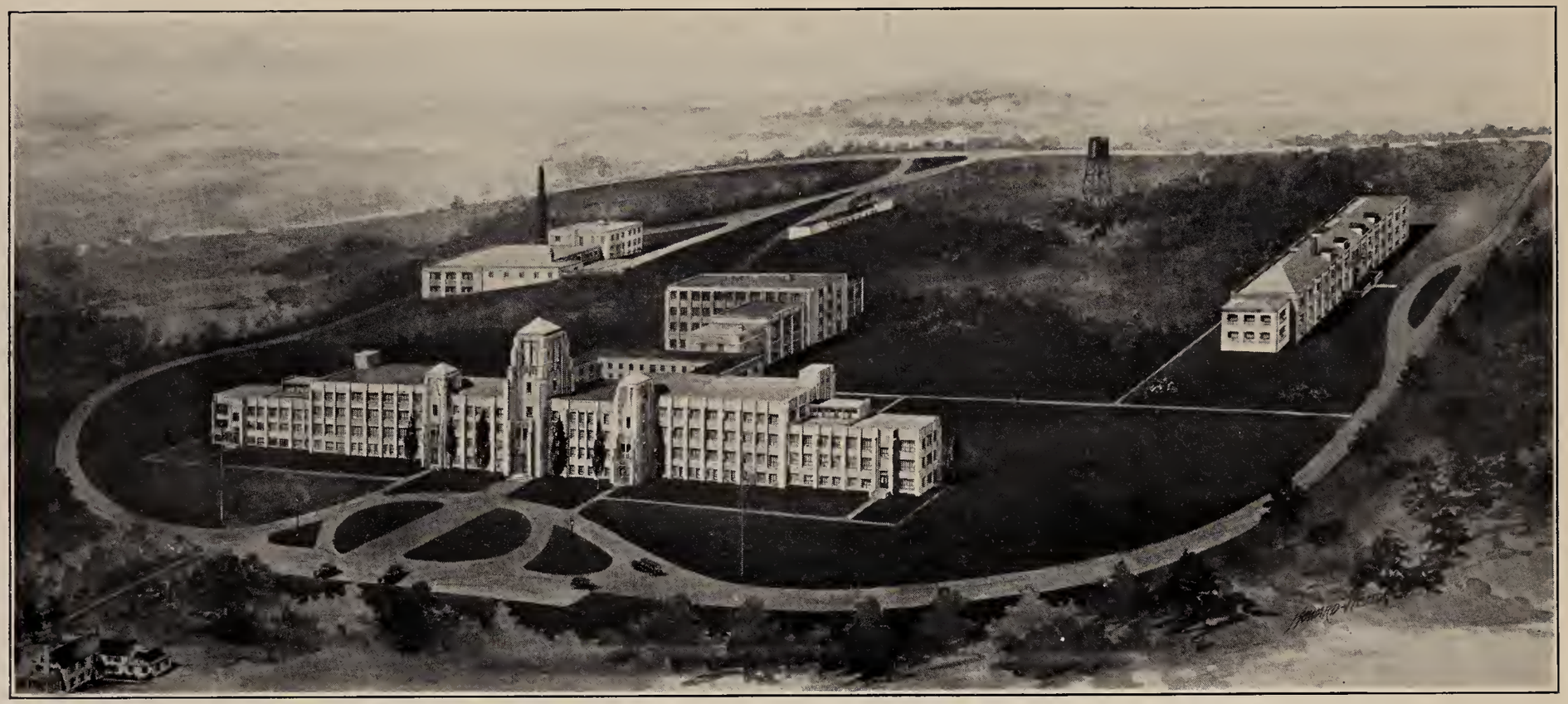
Municipality	*Population*	*Company*	*Source of Electricity*
Ashburnham...	2,079	Gardner Electric Light Co.....	A-1
Athol	10,677	Athol Gas and Electric Co.....	A-2 (Small amount of hydro generated locally.)
Auburn	6,147	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.....	A-1
Barre	3,510	Gardner Electric Light Co.....	A-1
Berlin	1,075	Marlborough Electric Co.....	A-1
Blackstone	4,674	Blackstone Electric Co.....	A-1
Bolton	764	Marlborough Electric Co.....	A-1
Boylston	1,097	Municipal	B-1 New Eng. Power Co.
Brookfield	1,352	Central Mass. Electric Co.....	A-2 (Hydro plant at Palmer.)
		Spencer Gas Co.....	A-3 (Gas plant at Spencer.)
Charlton	2,154	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2 (Local steam standby Gas plant at Webster.)
Clinton	12,817	Clinton Gas Light Co.....	A-1 (Gas plant at Clinton.)
Dana	505	Gardner Electric Light Co.....	A-1
Douglas	2,195	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.....	A-1
Dudley	4,265	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2 (Local steam standby Gas plant at Webster.)
E. Brookfield..	926	Central Mass. Electric Co.....	A-2
		Spencer Gas Co.....	A-3
Fitchburg	40,692	Fitchburg Gas & Electric Co.....	A-2 (Local steam standby Local gas plant.)
Gardner	19,399	Gardner Electric Light Co.....	A-1
Grafton	7,030	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.....	A-1
Hardwick	2,460	Central Mass. Electric Co.....	A-2

Municipality	*Population*	*Company*	*Source of Electricity*
Harvard	987	Harvard Electric Co.	A-1
Holden	3,871	Municipal	B-1 New Eng. Power Co.
Hopedale	2,973	Milford Electric Light & Power Co.	A-1
Hubbardston	1,010	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Lancaster	2,897	Clinton Gas Light Co.	A-1
Leicester	4,445	Worcester Electric Light Co.	A-2 (Generates steam power for system during part of year.)
Leominster	21,810	Leominster Electric Co.	A-1
		Leominster Gas Light Co.	A-3 (Gas plant at Leominster.)
Lunenburg	1,923	Fitchburg Gas and Electric Co.	A-2 (Steam standby.)
		Leominster Gas Light Co.	A-3
Mendon	1,107	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
Milford	14,741	Milford Electric Light & Power Co.	A-1
		Milford Gas Light Co.	A-3
Millbury	6,957	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
Millville	2,111	Blackstone Electric Co.	A-1
New Braintree	407	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Northboro	1,946	Marlborough Electric Co.	A-1
Northbridge	9,715	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
N. Brookfield	3,013	Central Mass. Electric Co.	A-2
		Spencer Gas Co.	A-3
Oakham	502	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Oxford	3,943	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2 (Steam standby.)
Paxton	672	Municipal	B-1 Worcester Elec. Lt. Co.
Petersham	660	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Phillipston	357	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Princeton	717	Municipal	B-1 Gardner Electric Lt. Co.
Royalston	744	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Rutland	2,442	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Shrewsbury	6,910	Municipal	B-1 Worcester Elec. Lt. Co.
Southboro	2,166	Marlborough Electric Co.	A-1
		Marlborough-Hudson Gas Co.	A-3 (Gas plant at Marlborough.)
Southbridge	14,264	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2
Spencer	6,272	Spencer Gas Co.	A-1 (Electricity.)
			A-3 (Gas.)
Sterling	1,502	Municipal	B-1 New Eng. Power Co.
Sturbridge	1,772	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2
Sutton	2,147	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
Templeton	4,159	Municipal	B-1 Gardner Elec. Light Co.
Upton	2,026	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
Uxbridge	6,285	Worcester Suburban Electric Co.	A-1
Warren	3,765	Central Mass. Electric Co.	A-2
		Spencer Gas Co.	A-3
Webster	12,992	Webster & Southbridge Gas & Electric	A-2 (Steam standby.)
Westboro	6,409	Marlborough Electric Co.	A-1
West Boylston	2,114	Municipal	B-1 New Eng. Power Co.
W. Brookfield	1,255	Central Mass. Electric Co.	A-2
		Spencer Gas Co.	A-3
Westminster	1,925	Gardner Electric Light Co.	A-1
Winchendon	6,202	Winchendon Electric Light Co.	A-2 (Small local hydro plant.)
Worcester	195,311	Worcester Electric Light Co.	A-2 (Generates steam power part of year.)

CHAPTER XLVII

Medical Annals

There are many unique features in the history of medicine and medical men in Massachusetts. Assuredly the Commonwealth has been the home of many pioneers in the development of medical lore and science in the United States. Probably the first physician in New England was "Deacon" Samuel Fuller, of the *Mayflower,* citizen of Plymouth and Charlestown; his wife Bridget was an accomplished midwife. The first doctor, State-sustained, was John Pratt, of Cambridge, who was sent with the Winthrop Colony and paid by the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Anne Hutchinson, 1636, was the first woman to practice medicine in the Massachusetts Colony. Governor Winthrop, according to the Elder Cotton Mather, had been a "Help for our Bodies by Physick." Many of the early high officials of the Colony and particularly the religious leaders, practiced medicine of a sort, being jacks of all trades. John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians, in 1647, complained that "we never had but one anotomy in the Countrey, which Giles Firman did make and read very well." By an "anotomy" or anatomy, the Apostle meant a skeleton. Giles Firman was the "instigator of the first anatomical clinic," and also of one of the first Colonial medical laws, for the General Court replied to John Eliot's complaint: "we conceive it very necessary that such as studies phisick, or chirurgery, may have the liberty to read anotomy & to anotomize once in fouree yeares some malefactor in case there be such as the Court will alow of." It was not until almost two centuries later (1830) that another anatomy act was passed. In 1647, also, the first quarantine law established in the New World, was passed to shut out the yellow fever. Two years later the first American law attempting to control the practice of medicine was passed. It was based on the idea, as stated in the introduction that, "Forasmuch as the Law of God allowes no man to impaire the Life and Limbs of any person, but in a judicial way" none but skilled "Chirugeons, Midwives and Physitians," must "presume to exercise or put forth an act contrary to the known approved Rules of Art."



NEW WORCESTER COUNTY SANITORIUM FOR TUBERCULAR PATIENTS, IN BOYLSTON ON THE EDGE OF WORCESTER

The earliest treatise upon a medical subject in America was written by Thomas Thacher, first minister of Old South Church, Boston, and published in 1677, and was entitled: *A Brief Rule to Guide the Common People of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks or Measles.* The oldest American medical society of unbroken record is the Massachusetts Medical Society, founded in 1781. The first chemist's shop was set up in Boston. The first recorded epidemic of yellow fever attacking the whites, occurred in 1693. Possibly the first outbreak of mob hysteria was that at Salem over witchcraft, and the first autopsy made in this country, was performed in this connection, in 1675. It is described in the records of the Roxbury Church. Among other "firsts" might be named smallpox vaccine and inoculation, the introduction of which brought the younger Cotton Mather, Zabdiel Boylston, William Douglas, Benjamin Waterhouse and others of the late eighteenth century medics into trouble, even as did the first experiments with anaesthetics. Both were important discoveries but long in becoming popular.

Dr. Walter L. Burrage, M. D., has written: "The medical profession of Massachusetts can claim that it has given to the world the discovery of the cause of puerperal fever, the supreme blessing of surgical anesthesia, the discovery of appendicitis and its proper treatment. The physicians of the Commonwealth brought about the establishment of the first State Board of Health and the first sanatorium for the care of tuberculosis in the United States, not to mention the medical examiner system in place of incompetent coroners. Moreover they were pioneers in social service and hospital standardization, they improved the established treatment of diabetes and made a previously fatal disease, pernicious anemia, curable by a liver diet. During three centuries it has been the glory of the profession that it has been ever ready to learn new methods, to develop fresh lines of investigation and above all to perceive, through the agency of an adequate medical library, and to apply the discoveries from all over the medical world. Massachusetts medicine has been progressive, it has been national and it has been world-wide." (Hart's *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts,* Vol. V. p. 567.)

Worcester County's share in the glories of Massachusetts medical triumphs, is that of a part to the whole. If it did nothing more than give Dr. Morton, of Charlton, to surgical anesthesia in the world; Dorothea Dix, of Worcester, and Clara Barton, to medical reform and the Red Cross, it has contributed well to the making of medical history in the State and Nation. To its larger neighbor, Boston, and to the Nation at large, the county has always given many of its best men. Dr. Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus, in 1882. The laboratories of Massachusetts confirmed his work, and Dr. Albert Worcester joined with Dr. William Sullivan in persuading the

Legislature to establish a State tuberculosis sanatorium. This, the first in the United States, was opened in Rutland, Worcester County, in 1898. It might well be noted that "inoculating the smallpox," a practice which, not only met with opposition but was a half century in becoming established, was used in several parts of Worcester County, comparatively early and especially so in 1776. It is reputed that the State Lunatic Hospital, as it was then called, established in Worcester in the year 1832, was the first institution of its kind founded by any State in the Union. The claim is made that Dr. Hervey G. Wilbur, opened in Barre in 1848, the first private hospital for mentally defective children. Worcester County physicians were among the incorporators of the Massachusetts Medical Society, in 1781, and is believed that there was a county medical society as early as 1784. Enough has been said to indicate that this part of the Commonwealth has never lagged behind other sections in medicine and medical leaders. If certain individuals of international fame have been named only, it is because their lives have been reviewed adequately in the early chapters of this work.

To the medical profession of Worcester County, particularly of the pioneer days and the years of the last century, the writer wishes to pay deserved tribute if only by compiling a roster of its devoted and useful practitioners. Of the physicians of the past little has been recorded. Writers have immortalized soldiers, ministers, lawyers, merchants, industrialists, but seldom have they given their pens to the personalities of the doctors and surgeons. "History has been written about all sorts of men and women, even fools, scoundrels and busybodies, but medical men and women have been forgotten." Excuse is made that the earliest physicians are better known for other than medical activities. The John Winthrops, senior and junior, are remembered as statesmen. Many of the religious leaders for the first century evidently were of greater service to their people as doctors, although not so recorded in history. There was a lack of physicians in the Massachusetts Colony. James Gregory Mumford narrows the list of well known doctors of the seventeenth century to eighteen, but oddly enough, ten of the eighteen are better known for their avocations than for their vocations. The pioneer physician of even a hundred years ago, knew little medicine compared with the present day; if he operated it was without the benefit of good instruments, anasthesia, and under septic conditions. It was difficult for him to get about over his extensive field of labor; his wage was small, he had numerous lay competitors, while "home remedies" were countless. Unlike most professions or businesses, the pioneer, like every medical man since, worked his hardest to destroy his own business—he must cure illness and prevent everyone from becoming ill. In addition to his professional practice he was often the family counsellor, the community information bureau, and often the

social, religious and political leader of the community. To a considerable degree he moulded public opinion and determined the future welfare of his town.

To illustrate: John Brigham, a pioneer of Westborough, in 1672, was "doctor, surveyor, commissioner to the General Court." Dr. Zachariah Harvey, Worcester, 1736, and other places in the county, was variously town clerk, moderator, chairman of selectmen, agent and assessor of the General Court, and a physician. The first settled minister of Shrewsbury, Rev. Ebenezer Morse, was a "master of all the learned professions—law and medicine as well as divinity." The first Baptist preacher of Leicester is described as "the leading physician of the county for thirty-five years." The proprietor of the plantation which became Athol, Joseph Lord, was clerk, exhorter, doctor and general handyman. William Douglas, founder of the town of Douglas, had several trades and was an all 'round business man and captain of industry. Many of the first medical men in the various settlements were agriculturists, carpenters and the like, often from necessity. It is a matter of record that one of the members of the Green family who were largely represented in the medical profession of Worcester County, Dr. Thomas Green, then of Auburn, a minister and farmer, made six professional calls upon a patient in West Millbury, for which he charged thirty-seven cents. This large bill probably included medicine costs. If Dr. Green received anything on account, it was probably in farm or forest products.

The name is not known of the first physician to visit what is now Worcester County. It may have been Giles Firman, apothecary, doctor, teacher of anatomy, the colleague of John Eliot with whom he probably visited some of the "Praying Indians" in this section. There were also several ministers who practiced medicine among the settlers of the first plantations in the region in the seventeenth century. Of the four only towns, of that period, Mendon, Brookfield, and Quinsigamond (Worcester) had been put to the torch by the aborigines in 1675, and the largest, Lancaster, had been blotted out. Settlement was recommenced within three years, but Worcester County history really begins with the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and it is doubtful whether the whole large county sheltered much above four thousand white people at the date of its establishment, July 10, 1731. Lancaster was then the most important town; Mendon, Sutton and Brookfield had larger populations than Worcester, and, with the exception of Sutton, were older.

Lancaster with all its early population, prestige and power, had no annalist sufficiently interested in its pioneer doctors to do more than name them. A recent writer sums up its medical history: Mary Whitcomb; Daniel Greenleaf, who died in 1735; John Dunsmoor, who died in 1745; Stanton Pren-

tice, who died in 1769; Phinehas Phelps, Enoch Dole, William Dunsmoor, Josiah Wilder, Cephas Prentice, all of whom died before the close of the eighteenth century; Israel Atherton, James Carter, Samuel Manning, Nathaniel Peabody, Calvin Carter, George Baker, Right Cummings, Edward T. Tremaine, Henry Lincoln, J. L. S. Thompson, George W. Symonds, George W. Burdett, George M. Morse, S. S. Lyon, Reuben Barron, Henry H. Fuller, F. H. Thompson, Walter P. Bowers, and George L. Tobey, were nineteenth century physicians; some of them are of record in other towns also. Mary Whitcomb was a highly respected midwife.

The roster of Mendon's pioneer medical men is equally small, judging from what has been printed concerning them. Numbered among its first settlers, in 1662, was Rev. John Rayner, of Weymouth, who seems to have had some knowledge of simple remedies, besides being "an able minister." Mendon, however, was the first to suffer in King Philip's War, and while provision was made for religion and education in later resettlements, we know of none being made for a doctor. An epidemic of dysentery hit the town in 1726, but the town fathers fought it in a characteristic way by letting "the swine run at large the remainder of the year." Mendon also had a smallpox epidemic, in 1792. In the movement that forced Worcester County, in 1776, to take preventative measures against the smallpox, the erecting of isolation hospitals (?) for variolous inoculation, Mendon refused to "allow" such a hospital, but the return of the disease in 1792 brought about a change of attitude. Such a hospital was permitted and Dr. Joseph Adams was placed in control. Dr. John George Metcalf, president of the Worcester District Medical Society (1849-50), town historian in 1839 and again in 1879, contributes very little to our knowledge of its medical men. Among his contemporaries were Dr. Alexander Thayer, Jr., to 1830; Dr. Abel Wilder, 1827 to 1862. Mendon, originally a part of Suffolk County, was "The Mother of Towns," and among her offspring were Uxbridge, Upton, Milford, Hopedale, Blackstone, Northbridge, whose annals are a richer source of medical material.

Brookfield and Sutton were larger and richer than Worcester until almost the end of the eighteenth century. Their pioneer physicians seem to have been more numerous than in the settlements of later foundation, and no better in the history that has come down to us, possibly for the reason that what they did as citizens was considered more important than as doctors. Dr. James H. Armsby and Dr. Alden March, stand out in the field of medicine of the nineteenth century, but both as professors in medical schools. Dr. March, born 1795, was the founder and the first president of the Albany, New York, Medical College; Dr. Armsby, born 1809, was a professor at the Albany Medical College and the Vermont Academy of Medicine. Other

early Sutton physicians were David S. C. H. Smith (1839-59). N. Quincy Tirrell, from 1842; William Terry, from 1847, and A. L. Stickney, from 1866. The annals of the Brookfields for a hundred years are replete with the names of ministers, churches and town meetings, but it remained for Dr. Snell, who settled there in 1798, to record the name of Dr. Jacob Kittridge, who through his fame as a surgeon and healer, made North Brookfield the Mecca of the "sickly and palsied, those afflicted with swellings, disjointed bones, broken limbs and the diseased of every sort." Dr. Kittridge died in 1813. Other of the first physicians of the Brookfields, were Dr. Henry Gilman, Drs. Green and Spooner; Drs. H. T. and H. P. Bates, Drs. Jesse Denniman, Tilly Rice, Seth Field, Thomas Babbitt, and John Homans. The last three and Dr. Spencer, were members of the Worcester Medical Society, in 1804, Dr. Babbitt being president from 1807 to his death in 1813.

Before quitting a chronological order of towns, mention will be made of those other towns incorporated prior to the setting up of a county government in 1731—Oxford, Rutland, Westborough, Uxbridge, Southborough, Shrewsbury and Lunenburg, reducing Crane's account in his *History of Worcester County*.

Oxford had Dr. Paine. Dr. Addison Knight was in practice in Oxford in 1834, Dr. Jonathan Nichols, 1854, and Dr. Charles L. Clarke and William B. Cushman in the 1830's.

Rutland's earliest physician was Dr. Hezekiah Fletcher, who died in 1754. His son, Alpheus, succeeded to the practice, dying in 1766. Dr. John Frink was next; he and his son, John, practiced in Rutland for more than eighty years. Dr. John Frink was the only Worcester County physician among those who incorporated the first medical association, the Massachusetts Medical Society, in 1781. Dr. John Frink, Jr., died in 1811. Dr. John Field, who practiced for many years, died in Rutland in 1815, Dr. James McFarland, Jr., died in 1823, Dr. Charles G. Safford died in 1848. Other physicians in Rutland during the middle decades of the last century include Drs. Clapp, Saltmarsh, Ordway, Warren, Newell, Rood, Herbert, Slocum, Fellows, and Shannon.

The first settler in the original territory of Westborough was John Brigham, known as Dr. Brigham. He is described as "doctor, surveyor, commissioner to the General Court," and in 1672 he built a sawmill on Howard Brook, "and lived among the savages until their hostility drove him away." Dr. James Hawes settled in Westborough in 1763. He came into prominence during the Revolution, attending the Provincial Congress in 1775. Dr. Benjamin Pond, Jr., was president of the Worcester District Medical Society in 1851-53, and Dr. Edwin B. Harvey, of Westborough, held the same office in 1882-84. Other Westborough physicians of the nineteenth century include

Drs. Samuel Griggs, Henry H. Rising, F. E. Corey, Charles S. Bradley, and Daniel P. Cilley.

Upton's early physicians were John Starkweather, Henry Carpenter, George W. Ward, and Jerome Wilmarth. Uxbridge had for its first medical man, Dr. Wood. Later physicians were Drs. Samuel Willard, George Willard, Augustus C. Taft, Dr. Smith, Dr. A. W. Bennett, J. W. Robbins, J. M. Macomber, Chauncey A. Wilcox, William L. Johnson, L. D. White, W. L. Sanders, Benjamin Joslyn. Dr. Samuel Willard died in 1811. Dr. George Willard died in 1846. Dr. Robbins was in practice for more than thirty years; he died in 1879. Dr. Bennett practiced for more than forty years, ending in 1888. Dr. Chauncey A. Wilcox was president of the Worcester District Medical Society 1870-72; he practiced for more than thirty years from about 1854.

Southborough was the native place of Dr. Joel Burnett, who died in 1845; he practiced for many years. His son, Dr. Joseph Burnett, of Boston, was a noteworthy benefactor of his native town. Dr. Samuel C. Hartwell was in the town from 1839. Dr. J. Henry Robinson began to practice about 1860.

The first Shrewsbury physician was Dr. Joshua Smith, who practiced in the town from about 1740 until his death in 1756. Dr. Zachariah Harvey practiced in Shrewsbury between 1740 and 1750, when he removed to Princeton. The Rev. Ebenezer Morse, who became the minister of the Second Parish when that was established in 1742, was also a physician, having graduated from Harvard College in 1737. His son, Dr. Eliakim Morse, practiced medicine in the same parish, which became part of Boylston and West Boylston. Dr. Edward Flint's practice in the town began in 1756 and ended in 1818; he was chief chirurgeon of the regiment commanded by Colonel Timothy Ruggles, during the Expedition against Crown Point in 1758. His son, Dr. Austin Flint was born in Shrewsbury in 1760, and served during the Revolution. Other Shrewsbury physicians include: Dr. Amariah Bigelow, born in 1757; Dr. Samuel Crosby, who was an army surgeon, and removed to Winchendon after the Revolutionary War; Dr. Paul Dean, who opened a smallpox hospital in Shrewsbury in 1792; Dr. Silas Wheelock, 1800-17; Dr. Seth Knowlton, who practiced for thirty years, ending in 1832; Dr. William Workman, 1826-30; Dr. Azor R. Phelps, 1835-43; Dr. Adolphus Brigham, from 1827 to 1859; Dr. Alonzo Smith, for a few years from 1834; Dr. Dean Towne, for ten years from 1840; Dr. John Heard, 1847; Dr. Joel B. Fay, 1850-60; Dr. Frederick A. Jewett, 1859-70; Dr. John T. Wetherbee, 1869-1873; Dr. Emerson Warner, 1863-65; Dr. Franklin W. Brigham, for several decades from 1865; Dr. Jeremiah C. Foster, 1867-73; Dr. J. C. Coburn,

NEW PUTNAM WARD FOR TUBERCULAR PATIENTS, BELMONT ISOLATION HOSPITAL, WORCESTER

Photo by Paul W. Savage

1878-80; Dr. George L. Tobey, 1879-80; Dr. Charles Sumner Pratt, for many years from 1880.

Lunenburg's first medical man was Dr. John Taylor; and several of the early Lunenburg physicians have been referred to as of Fitchburg. Dr. John Dunsmoor succeeded Dr. Taylor. Later physicians were: Drs. Abraham Haskell, Aaron Bard, Otis Abercrombie, C. C. Topliff, E. C. Merriam, and S. D. King.

Various annalists of the past have been careful to draw attention to the number of physicians in Leicester, and their many-faceted abilities. Rev. Thomas Green, already indicated as minister and doctor, was the earliest of his professions in Leicester and had a medical clientele that extended beyond the bounds of the State. He was also a teacher of physicians. Pliny Lawton, school teacher in 1748-49, was thereafter called doctor to the time of his death in 1761, of smallpox. His estate consisting of "an hour-glass, a pillion, and a medical library, was appraised at £2. 4s. 6d." Dr. John Honeywood, was a well trained surgeon who met his death in the Revolutionary armies; Dr. Solomon Parsons, school teacher, 1751, is believed to have been an army surgeon, 1761; Drs. Isaac Green, Absalom Russell, and perhaps Dr. Austin Flint, were Revolutionary Army surgeons. The names Green and Flint loom large in local medical history; Austin Flint succeeding Thomas Green as the chief medical man in Leicester. The Flint line of doctors includes three generations of the same name Austin, and Edward, and others of later note. The first Austin is reputed to have attended, prior to 1850, 1,750 cases of childbirth. Other Leicester medical names of the nineteenth century are Edward Rawson, Robert Craige, Thaddeus Brown, Thomas Hersey, Jeremiah Larned. Of later years were Drs. Ames Walbridge, Jacob Holmes, Rev. Isaac Worcester, C. D. Whitcomb, James P. C. Cummings, E. A. Daggett, John P. Scribner, O. O. Warner, Fred G. Gifford, Charles H. Warner, Charles G. Stearns, Leonard Atkinson, the most of the last half dozen being graduates of the Harvard Medical School.

Of Leominster, Dr. David Wilder wrote in 1852 a highly valued history. He tells that a Dr. Howard owned a place in the early settlement which later passed to the first minister, Rev. John Rogers, but acclaims Dr. Jacob Peabody, who came in 1746, as the first local physician. This good doctor, however, only lived until 1759. Dr. Thomas Gowing succeeded Jacob Peabody, and practiced with great success until 1800. In 1790 Dr. Silas Allen began to practice; he lived in Leominster until his death in 1840. Dr. Ebenezer Learned practiced for a few years, from 1792, and in 1799 Dr. Daniel Adams came, but for the first fifty years after the settlement of Leominster,

the town could support only one physician. About the year 1817, however, Leominster realized that it had many physicians. There were Drs. Richard Ransom Smith and his son; Abraham Haskell, Sr., Charles W. Wilder, Dr. Silas Allen, Dr. David Wilder, and Dr. Jerome Van Crowningshield, more than sufficient it would seem. Other Leominster physicians in practice up to the year 1850 include Drs. Albert Smith, Thomas R. Boutelle, Caleb C. Field, John Heard, and George W. Pierce. Physicians of a later generation include: Dr. Charles A. Wheeler, who began to practice in Leominster in 1864, after Civil War service; Dr. Henry R. Brown, in homeopathic practice from 1869; Dr. H. P. Hall, from 1876; Dr. C. E. Bigelow, from 1882; Dr. Edward J. Cutter, from 1882. At least one Leominster physician comes very prominently into educational history, Dr. Daniel Adams, who was in medical practice in Leominster from 1799 to 1806. He compiled many school text-books.

Medical history in Worcester County furnishes an unusual number of instances of families who have supplied medical men to the third and fourth generations, such as the Greens, Flints, Wilders and others. In addition to the Wilders just named in Leominster, it may be noted that one of this family was among the founders of Ashburnham, and that Dr. Abel Wilder practiced in Blackstone prior to his death in 1798. Two sons of Rev. Dr. Thomas Green, M. D., of Leicester, by name Thomas and Daniel, were early physicians of Auburn. Edward Flint has been named as "the most eminent physician of Leicester," together with his son and grandson. John Flint practiced in Petersham to his death in 1809, and was succeeded by Dr. Joseph Henshaw Flint, one of the leading practitioners of the Connecticut Valley, and the father of Dr. Austin Flint, one of the originating professors of the University of Buffalo, and also of the Long Island Hospital, New York, a sometime professor in the Bellevue Hospital College of New York City, and a Fellow, member and high officer in national and international medical associations. The Lindsey family of Dana included several and long-lived medical men. The Chenerys of Holden are worthy of note. The town of Douglas was founded by a physician, William Douglas, whose descendants followed in his footsteps professionally. Hubbardston's first century in medical history is covered in the lives of Dr. Moses Phelps and his son of the same name. The Allens of Princeton, Sturbridge, and other Worcester towns, the Bachellers, Dr. Stephen, the pioneer of Royalston, and Dr. Stephen, Jr., of wider fame, the Whites, Maccarty's, Bigelows, Browns, Knights, Boylstons, Thayers, and probably many more, were from families of which two or more members were sterling physicians in one or several of the Worcester County towns, or left this section for other fields of practice.

The history of Gardner's former physicians dates to Dr. Joseph Boyden, son-in-law of the redoubtable Seth Heywood, the first doctor in Gardner and practiced until 1791. He was followed by Rev. Jonathan Osgood who was both minister and medical practitioner. He came from Tamworth, in 1791, and was eminently successful until his removal elsewhere thirty years later. The third physician of the town was a Dr. Howard, of short stay. In 1822 Horace Parker, M. D., of Westford, came to Gardner, but because of ill health turned over his practice to his brother, Dr. David Parker, in 1829. Dr. David Parker won a very large clientele and strongly influenced the development of the town for nearly sixty years. The Gardner physicians of the next half-century include Drs. Carpenter, Jewett, Harriman, Warner, Whittier, Sanborn, and Sawyer. Dr. Jonathan Osgood was president of the Worcester District Medical Society in 1814-20. Dr. David Parker practiced in Gardner for almost sixty years. Dr. Nathan S. Lincoln, who was born in Gardner, attained distinction in practice in Washington, District of Columbia, in the years following the Civil War. Dr. Edward J. Sawyer was one of the founders of the Worcester North District Medical Society in 1858.

Although Fitchburg, as a separate, dates only from 1864, according to one of its historians, himself a medical man, one Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty was its first physician. This worthy doctor made history when, in 1776, he opened the first inoculation (smallpox) hospital authorized in Worcester County. It already has been indicated that smallpox epidemics were among the many difficulties which menaced the Revolution. The disease ravaged Boston and the headquarters of Washington's Army about Cambridge. In fleeing the evil, people scattered the disease to all quarters of the Colony. In 1775 Maccarty went to Great Barrington to study the nature of smallpox under Dr. James Latham, Englishman, and also the so-called "Sutton Method" of treating it. In August, 1776, he was authorized by the Court of Sessions to build a hospital at Fitchburg, but it required also the permission of the town meeting before such a place could be erected. In September, 1776, Fitchburg "allowed a hospital for the Anocalation for the Small Pox." Apparently no other town "allowed" similar hospitals at this time. Dr. Maccarty and his colleague, Dr. Israel Atherton, of Lancaster, were eminently successful for the larger part of two years, treating eight hundred patients of whom but five died. Thaddeus Maccarty went to Worcester to practice, in 1781.

Dr. Thomas R. Boutelle, graduate of Yale Medical School in 1813, was the next Fitchburg doctor to achieve prominence, but more for his Revolutionary War services. Dr. Alfred Hitchcock, graduate of both the Dartmouth and Jefferson Medical colleges, settled in Ashby, in 1837, and in Fitchburg in 1850, where he practiced to his death in 1874. He is ranked as

the peer of his time in medicine and surgery of all his colleagues in this section of Worcester County, a man prominent in public affairs and education, a physician who devoted the best of his energies and knowledge to the treatment of wounded soldiers during the Civil War. Atherton P. Mason, A. B., and M. D. (both of Harvard), in his *History of Fitchburg* lists as the physicians of the past century of the town and city: Successors to Dr. Maccarty were: Dr. Jonas Marshall, in the early 1780's, and Dr. Peter Snow who became established medically in 1782 and practiced for forty years. The latter's son, Peter S. Snow, also practiced from 1815 to 1831, but was a resident of Fitchburg until his death in 1884. Dr. Marshall was also a physician for four decades. Aside from Dr. Boutelle and Dr. Alfred Hitchcock, Atherton P. Mason names in order: Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty; Dr. Jonas Marshall; Dr. Peter Snow; Dr. Peter S. Snow, Jr.; Dr. Jonas A. Marshall; Dr. Thomas R. Boutelle; Dr. Alfred Hitchcock; also Dr. Alfred Miller began practice in Ashburton in 1845 and in 1863 he removed to Fitchburg.

Members of the Massachusetts Medical Society: Dr. Levi Pillsbury, who settled here May 1, 1844; Dr. George Jewett practiced in Templeton and Gardner, and came to Fitchburg in 1858. He was surgeon in the army, and from 1864 to 1886 was examining surgeon for pensions. Dr. George D. Colony began practice at Athol and removed to Fitchburg in May, 1861. Dr. Austin W. Sidney began practice as an eclectic physician in Sterling in 1860, came to Fitchburg in 1866. Dr. Charles H. Rice graduate of the Harvard and Dartmouth Medical schools, settled in Fitchburg in 1866. Dr. Frederick H. Thompson settled in Lancaster; removed to Fitchburg in May, 1874; was city physician in 1877. Dr. Dwight S. Woodworth practiced in Fitchburg from 1876; was city physician 1879-81, and 1884-86; was medical director of the Massachusetts Mutual Aid Society for some years. Dr. Ernest P. Miller, son of Dr. Alfred Miller, graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1876, and practiced in Fitchburg. Dr. Herbert H. Lyons settled in Fitchburg in 1881. Dr. Atherton P. Mason, a native of Fitchburg, graduated at Harvard College in 1879 and at the Harvard Medical School in 1882; began practice in Fitchburg in March, 1884. Drs. John D. Kielty; Clarence W. Spring; Eustace L. Fiske; Emerson A. Ludden; Henry W. Pierson.

The Homeopathic Physicians: Dr. Daniel B. Whittier; Dr. Hollis K. Bennett; Dr. Ellen L. Eastman; Dr. J. Everett Luscombe; Dr. Oliver L. Bradford; Dr. Hubbard H. Brigham, eclectic.

Worcester as the shire-town and the largest city of the county, stands out prominently in the annals of medicine of this part of the Commonwealth. Very little research work has been done since Dr. Samuel B. Woodward published his *Medical History* in 1888, as a chapter in a larger work. It has

been the base of practically all chapters on physicians and their activities, since, and here again must be summarized from other compact condensations. It would seem that Worcester had no settled physician until 1718, and Robert Crawford. Dr. Zachariah Harvey was in Worcester as early as 1736, but also was in Shrewsbury in 1740, in Princeton from 1750 on, and may have served several towns, including Worcester over a long period. There was also a Dr. Ebenezer Whitney, who died in 1743; but the name of Dr. Nahum Willard stands out as a resident physician of the town from 1744 to 1774-75. He remained loyal to the British King when revolution broke out in Massachusetts, and was listed as one of the public enemies of Massachusetts. He did not become a permanent exile, however, and died in Uxbridge in 1792.

One must refer once more to the famous Dr. Thomas Green, first minister and doctor of Leicester. Dr. John Green, had a son, John Green, Jr., born in 1763, who started practicing medicine in Worcester in 1781, and continued for twenty-seven years. His son, John, also started his medical career in Worcester. From 1807 he was prominent as a practitioner and public-spirited citizen for almost half a century. The "Green Reference Library" keeps his name remembered even by those who have forgotten that he was "the leading Worcester County physician of his time." Dr. Joseph Lyne and Dr. Elijah Dix, his brother-in-law, were medical partners from 1775 to the year of the establishment of the United States. Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty, already named in connection with Fitchburg practiced in Worcester from 1781 to 1789.

Dr. Samuel Breck, a Harvard graduate, was in medical practice in Worcester from 1745 to 1747. Dr. William Crawford, a native of Worcester, born in 1726, was successively a school teacher, chaplain, and army surgeon. He may have practiced in Worcester from about 1760 to 1770. Dr. John Green, son of Dr. Thomas Green, who was the pioneer minister and physician of Leicester, took up residence on the Green Hill estate in Worcester in 1757. Dr. John Green died in Worcester in 1799. Dr. Elijah Dix, a student under Dr. Green, practiced from 1770 to 1795. He was a druggist as well. He was a member on the first board of councillors of the County Medical Society; he was the first to plant elms on Main Street. Dr. William Paine (Harvard, 1768), came to Worcester to practice in 1772, and in that year opened a drug store, the first in the county. Although a native of Worcester, he was banished from his own town and county as a Royalist. He returned to England, and in November, 1775, received appointment as surgeon in the British Army. In this capacity he again came to America, and by 1782 had risen to the status of Surgeon-General of the King's Forces in America. The act of banishment being rescinded in 1787, he at once

returned to Massachusetts, and lived with his father in Salem until the death of the latter in 1793, when he took possession of the parental estate, "The Oaks," on Lincoln Street, Worcester, which property is now owned by the Col. Timothy Bigelow Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Dr. Paine practiced for forty years in Worcester. He died in Worcester in 1833, where he was one of the founders of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and was its vice-president from 1813 to 1816.

Dr. Samuel Prentiss, an army surgeon, began to practice in Worcester in 1783, but moved to Northfield in 1786. Dr. Oliver Fiske was born in Brookfield in 1762, and took up the study of medicine under Dr. Atherton, of Lancaster. In 1790 he began to practice in Worcester, retiring in 1822. He was one of the founders of the Worcester Medical Society in 1794, and also of the succeeding society, the Worcester District Medical Society in 1804, being elected the first president of the latter. Dr. Fiske was at one time in partnership with Dr. Elijah Dix, who kept a drug store; its range was evidently wide, for, under Dr. Fiske's name, grass seed was advertised in the *Aegis* of April 14, 1802.

Among other early physicians of Worcester were: Drs. Charles Wheeler; John Fisk, who died in Worcester in 1756; Thomas Nichols, who died in Worcester in 1794, after twenty-six years of practice in the town; Joseph Walker, who died in 1781; George H. Hall, who died in 1807. Dr. Benjamin Chapin, born in Worcester in 1781, began medical practice in Marlborough, but came to Worcester in 1808, and practiced there until his death in 1835. Dr. Benjamin Franklin Heywood, son of Judge Benjamin Heywood, was born in Worcester in 1792, graduated in medicine at Yale in 1815, and was a partner of Dr. John Green for twenty years. He practiced for fifty years and died in 1869. Dr. O. H. Blood, of Sterling, practiced as a physician for a few years, but from 1831 to 1858 he was a dentist. Dr. John S. Butler began to practice in Worcester in 1829, and early began to specialize in mental diseases. For nearly thirty years, 1843-73, he was superintendent of the Hartford Retreat, and for some years was president of the Association of Superintendents of American Insane Asylums. Dr. George Chandler came to Worcester in 1831 and in 1833 became assistant to Dr. S. B. Woodward at the Lunatic Hospital. In 1846 he became superintendent of Worcester Hospital, and held the post for ten years. Dr. John Park lived in Worcester for twenty-one years, 1831-52. He had been for ten years a ship surgeon, and for twenty years had managed a school for girls in Boston. Dr. Samuel B. Woodward was in practice in Connecticut for twenty-four years before coming to Worcester, in 1833, as superintendent of the lunatic asylum opened in that year. He held the post for fourteen years, then resigned

because of sickness. He was one of the leading American authorities on the treatment of the insane; was the founder of the Association of Insane Asylum Superintendents and its first president.

Physicians who began to practice in Worcester in the 'thirties of the last century include: Drs. Aaron G. Babcock, William Workman, Joan A. Andrews, and Chandler Smith. Dr. Babcock developed a very good drug store business. Dr. Workman came to Worcester in 1835 and practiced steadily until 1869. Although sixty-four years old when the need arose, he went to the front during the Civil War. Dr. Andrews, who opened an office in Worcester in 1836, practiced in the city for more than fifty years. Dr. Smith was in Princeton for ten years, from 1825, afterwards coming to Worcester, where he died in 1843. He was town physician for four years. Worcester physicians of the 'forties include Drs. Joseph Sargent, Calvin Newton, Benjamin Heywood, Rufus Woodward, Samuel F. Green, Samuel Flagg, R. L. Hawes, Armet B. Deland, Henry Sargent, Pierre B. Migault, and Merrick Bemis. Dr. Joseph Sargent began to practice in Worcester in 1840. He was president of the Worcester District Medical Society in 1864-1866, and founded the Worcester Medical Improvement Society. Dr. Newton, who began to practice in Worcester in 1840, died in 1853, "worn out in the attempt to raise the standard of practice of eclectic or botanic physicians. He did much writing, edited some professional journals, was professor of pathology and president of the Worcester Medical Institution, and in 1852 was president of the National Eclectic Medical Society." Dr. Heywood, a native of Worcester, practiced from 1845 to 1860. Dr. Rufus Woodward came to Worcester with his father, Dr. Samuel B., in 1833. He was graduated in 1845 from Harvard Medical School and decided to specialize in mental diseases, but the death of his father in 1850 changed his plans, and he began general practice in Worcester. Dr. Samuel F. Green, a grandson of the first Dr. John Green, was born in Worcester in 1822. For twenty years he was a medical missionary in Ceylon, and he translated from the English into the Tamil language a complete set of standard western works on medicine. In all, his labors produced 3,600 pages, many of the works becoming standard in India. The British Government financially assisted in the compilation. Dr. Green died in Worcester in 1884. Dr. George A. Bates, a native of Barre, practiced in Worcester for thirty-five years between 1845 and 1885. Dr. Samuel Flagg was in Worcester practice for the period 1845-61, when he went into military service. Dr. Deland, of Brookfield, practiced in Worcester for forty-three years from 1846. Dr. Migault, born in Canada, after graduating from Harvard Medical School, began to practice in Boston in 1846. Two years later he settled in Worcester, where he became

widely known as the "French Doctor." He returned to Canada in 1871. For almost twenty-five years from 1848 Dr. Merrick Bemis was connected with the Lunatic Hospital in Worcester, and was superintendent from 1856 to 1871. Dr. Oramel Martin was in Worcester practice for about forty years, from 1850; earlier he was of North Brookfield and New Braintree. Dr. Dean Towne was in Worcester practice for perhaps twenty years, from 1850. Dr. Henry Clarke, from 1851, was one of the brilliant physicians of Worcester.

Dr. Seth Rogers was a hydropathist, and was in general practice for a short time from 1857. Dr. F. H. Keeley, Mayor of Worcester in 1879-80, was in Worcester practice from 1852 to 1883. Dr. John E. Hathaway practiced for eight years or so from 1852; he died in 1861. Dr. J. Marcus Rice, a native of Milford, began his long practice in Worcester in 1854. He held city or State appointments almost continuously for thirty years. Dr. Frank H. Rice was in Worcester from 1855 to 1871. Dr. Joseph N. Bates, after twenty-five years of practice in Barre, came to Worcester in 1856, and practiced until his death in 1883. Dr. Thomas Hovey Gage (Harvard, 1852), in 1856 became assistant physician at the State Lunatic Hospital in Worcester, and the next year he entered into private practice at the county seat, continuing within a few years of his death in 1909. One biographer stated that Dr. Gage "was among the foremost surgeons and physicians of the State." He belonged to several leading professional bodies, and in 1886-88 was president of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Earlier (1872-74), he had been president of the Worcester District Medical Society. For twenty-eight years he was a trustee of the State Insane Hospital; for sixteen years he was on the visiting and consulting staffs of the Worcester City Hospital, and he held like capacity for many years at the Memorial Hospital; he was a trustee of both hospitals for many years, and had important part in establishing the Memorial. Dr. Anson Hobart, came to Worcester in 1858 from Southborough. Dr. Samuel F. Haven was a Worcester physician for a few years before entering upon military service in 1861. Dr. Peter E. Hubon, Irish-born, was the first of that nationality to enter medical practice in Worcester. He opened office in 1859, and was city physician in 1861. From 1865 until his death in 1880, he practiced in Worcester. Dr. Albert Wood began his practice at the close of the Civil War, and settled in Worcester, where he practiced for the remainder of his life. Dr. George E. Francis, a Civil War surgeon, came to Worcester in 1865. Dr. Emerson Warner practiced in Shrewsbury for three years before coming to Worcester in 1886. He was surgeon of the City Hospital for two decades, and took a leading part in civic and political work. Dr. John G. Park, an assistant surgeon during the Civil War, settled in

Worcester in 1867. He specialized in the treatment of the insane, and was identified with several institutions for the insane.

At the present writing there are more than six hundred physicians and surgeons in Worcester County, of whom about a third are located in the county seat. Nearly seventy per cent. of these medical men are members of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and an even larger proportion are members of some medical organization. The Massachusetts Medical Society, incorporated in 1781, is the oldest State organization of its kind having an unbroken record. It was founded to "safeguard the inhabitants of the State from untrained and ignorant practitioners and quacks," and its membership was limited, during the first two decades, to seventy fellows. Several Worcester County doctors have already been mentioned as among this select group. In 1803 the charter of the society was made more democratic, and any reputable physician since then has been eligible to membership. In this same year, the society voted to divide the Commonwealth, as regards its membership, into four districts, Middle, Southern, Eastern and Western. The Western District consisted of Worcester, Hampshire, Hampden, Franklin and Berkshire counties. Such was the occasion of the rise of district medical societies as branches or affiliates of the State organization.

Dr. Thomas Hovey Gage of Worcester was the first medical man from the county to become president of the State Society. He served in office during 1886-88. Dr. Edwin Bayard Harvey of Westborough was president, 1898-1900; Dr. George Ebenezer Francis of Worcester, 1902-04, and Dr. Samuel Bayard Woodward of Worcester are three other county men who have held this high place. Dr. Abraham Haskell of Leominster was the first from the county to be elected a Massachusetts Medical Society official, he being chosen vice-president, serving from 1825-27. Drs. Stephen Bacheller of Royalston, 1840-42; Edward Flint of Leicester, 1846-48; Joseph Stone of Hardwick, 1848-49; Thomas Richardson Boutelle of Fitchburg, 1857-59; John George Metcalf of Mendon, 1859-62; Joseph Sargent of Worcester, 1874-76; Thomas Hovey Gage of Worcester, 1881-82; Ira Russell of Winchendon, 1883-84; George Jewett of Fitchburg, 1888-89; George Danforth Colony of Fitchburg, 1890-91; Albert Wood, of Worcester, 1896-97; Frederick Henry Thompson of Fitchburg, 1905-06; Leonard Wheeler of Worcester, 1906-07; Samuel Baird Woodward of Worcester, 1914-15; are others from the county who have been vice-presidents. The other officers of the Massachusetts Medical Society, serve in clerical capacities and come chiefly from Boston.

The limitation of the membership of the Massachusetts Medical Society to seventy for more than twenty years forced physicians generally to create

their own local or sectional organizations. In the larger towns and cities of Worcester County it was the custom for such few medical men as were then in practice, to meet fairly regularly in each other's homes. There seems to have been a more formal association started prior to 1785, of which Dr. Samuel Prentiss was the secretary, but practically nothing is known about it. In 1794 the Worcester Medical Society was formed, with Dr. John Frink, of Rutland, as its first president, and Dr. Oliver Fiske, of Worcester, secretary. When in 1803 the State Society changed its membership rules so as to include all reputable physicians, and divided the activities of the society between four district organizations, the Worcester Medical Society changed its name to the Worcester District Medical Society, instead of calling itself the Western District Medical Society, as suggested by the parent body. This probably was done because Worcester County so completely dominated the medical situation in the so-called West. Dr. Oliver Fiske was president of the new district society for the first three years.

As the number of doctors and surgeons increased with the years, other medical associations were formed in the county. On June 9, 1853, the Thurber Medical Association was founded at Milford, with a membership of seventeen physicians representing twelve towns. It was named in honor of Dr. Daniel Furber, long a practitioner in Mendon; Dr. George Nelson, of Bellingham, was chosen the first president. Dr. John George Metcalf, of Mendon was the first secretary, and was an official and member for almost forty years. At one time Dr. Metcalf was president of the Worcester District Medical Society. The Thurber Association has declined to merge with the State Society, and the president of the older organization once challenged the United States to name a "strictly independent local medical society in the nation, not yielding allegiance to or receiving support from any other society, which had maintained its organization and held regular meetings for as many years." The challenge was never accepted. In 1858 the Worcester North District Medical Society was founded with Fitchburg as its center, and Dr. William Parkhurst of Petersham as the first president.

The Massachusetts Homeopathic Medical Society had its origin in the Homeopathic Fraternity, established in 1840, by physicians of that school, and was incorporated in 1856 under its present name. A number of local societies were formed in later years which affiliated with the parent organization, of which the Worcester County Homeopathic Medical Society was one. This was founded in 1866 with Dr. Lemuel Nichols, who was also a graduate in "regular" medicine, as the original president. Dr. William B. Chamberlain was also one of the first members of the Worcester Society, twice its president, and in 1872, president of the Massachusetts Homeo-

pathic Medical Society. Medicine has made its greatest progress by rejecting the old truth and practice for the new; most advances have been made against the severest criticism and opposition. In this the older generation has been neither better or worse than the present. The "regular" or allopath school of medicine utterly rejected the teachings of Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843), and of Hans Christian Gram, who in 1825 introduced homeopathy in this country. Dr. John Birnstill, was apparently the first to practice homeopathy in Worcester, 1844, and he became discouraged after three years. Dr. J. K. Clark was a practitioner of this school in Worcester, from 1849 to 1855. Dr. Nichols, using both schools of medicine but preferring homeopathy, came in 1855, as did Dr. J. E. Linnell, associated with Dr. Nichols for a decade. Dr. Daniel B. Whittier introduced homeopathy in Fitchburg in 1864. None of strict followers of Hahnemann were permitted to join the Massachusetts Medical Society until 1877, when a by-law was simplified to read "that they (members) do not practice any exclusive system of medicine, *or* practice medicine in a manner contrary to the code of the society." Since 1874 the by-law had refused admission to any physician professing adherence to any "exclusive" system. For almost a half century from 1825 the homeopath had been classed with the "hydropaths, chronothermalists, botanic physicians, also all mesmeric and clairvoyant pretenders to the healing art, and all others who claim peculiar merits for mixed practices not founded on the best system of Europe and America." There are now many homeopaths in the Massachusetts Medical Society. The modern trend is away from "schools" and faith in all of any one man's teachings.

The hospitals and similar medical institutions are the combined results of the devoted efforts of medical men, charitable citizens, for the most part, although the larger institutions are now usually of State or municipal establishment and support. The Worcester Homeopathic Hospital, while by no means one of the oldest hospitals in the city, was founded in 1896 as the Worcester Hahnemann Hospital. It was opened in a private home donated by Mrs. Elizabeth Coburn, a property that was later added to by the Roche estate, given in 1907, by David Hale Fanning. The new hospital was completed in November, 1909, with moneys furnished by public subscription. It has since been supported mainly by Worcester women. Its medical staff consists of twenty-three physicians and surgeons. The Worcester Homeopathic Dispensary, dates from 1880 and the initiative of Dr. Lemuel Nichols. It was maintained in part by an endowment by Mrs. L. J. Knowles. In connection with homeopathy in the State it is worth recalling that one of the "big four" hospitals in Boston is the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital, incorporated in 1855, which also includes the Homeopathic Dispensary,

opened in 1856, and the Boston University School of Medicine, established in 1873, "the greatest single factor in the spread of homeopathy in New England." This was also one of the first medical schools in America to raise the standard of medical education to a high plane, one on a level with other technical institutions. Incidentally the Westborough Hospital for the Insane, founded in 1844, was established by the followers of Hahnemann.

Barre also was named as the site of the first private hospital for mentally defective children. It is but one of a number of county towns having really fine private and public hospitals and sanatoriums. Athol has three hospitals. Ashburnham Township, and its industrial concerns, also has three hospitals. Auburn has two institutions; Bolton, Blackstone, Boylston, and the Brookfields have each at one time or another had efficient medical establishments. If one were to take the towns alphabetically, more than half would show hospitals and similar institutions. Fitchburg, the site of Maccarty's smallpox hospital of Revolutionary times, has now the Burbank Hospital, "one of the best free public hospitals in New England." Gardner S. Burbank, who died in 1888, bequeathed a half million dollar estate, which is the foundation of the institution that bears his name. This sum was not completely available until after the decease of Mrs. Burbank, in 1908, but a fifty-room hospital had been opened for patients a decade earlier. The cottage plan was followed in construction and practice. Gardner S. Burbank, always notably public-spirited and philanthropic, was one of the leading men in the development of the paper mill industry so important to Fitchburg. The Heywood name and enterprise is known to students of Gardner history. Nine generations played their important rôles, and the "Henry Heywood Memorial Hospital," at Gardner, was created by members of the family. Seth Heywood, of the ninth generation and third of his name is its secretary. The hospital has been expanded along almost every modern line, and serves well the needs of a varied modern community. The Whitinsville Hospital is largely a memorial to the Whitins family, known for its outstanding connections with textiles since Colonel Paul Whitin settled in the town of Northbridge, after years of service in the American Revolution. Leominster started solving its hospitalization problems in 1902 as the result of a meeting of its philanthropic citizens two years earlier. A Hospital Association was formed, but it was some years later before a private house was purchased and used. In 1919 certain residents offered to give a site and $50,000 if not less than $125,000 was subscribed by others toward the erection of a hospital. Success met the drive for the additional funds, and a splendid large and modern institution is the result.

In and around Worcester center many of the largest hospitals, public and private, which represent an investment of possibly $4,000,000. As a village

it fought vigorously in the late 1770's against Dr. Joseph Lyne and Dr. Elijah Dix when the two worthies wanted to "set up a hospital for inoculating the small pox." It was not until nearly a hundred years later that the city, now grown large, suddenly came to the realization that it was behind the age in provision for hospitals. In 1871 two hospitals were founded, the Memorial and the City institution. Only the Worcester City Hospital actually was established in that year, the original hospital being the Abijah Bigelow mansion, on Front and Church streets. The date was October 31, 1871, and it was a decade later that the present site was utilized, where a plant valued at more than a million dollars has been developed. By the will of George Jacques, who died in 1872, a fund of $250,000 was started, which, while it was used for building and equipment purposes, was also the start of the fairly large endowment the hospital now possesses. It is a municipal institution however, maintained for the most part by public appropriations. It ranks with the highest of its class, and since its inception has treated nearly 200,000 patients. The growth of the City Hospital is as follows: Training School for Nurses established September, 1883; Gill Memorial and Salisbury wards opened in 1886; Knowles Maternity, opened June, 1888; Out-patient Department opened March 17, 1890; Samuel Winslow Surgery, opened July, 1896; Male Surgical Building opened October, 1896; Thayer Memorial Home for Nurses, opened June, 1898; Heat, Light and Power Plant completed in 1900; city buildings costing $300,000 opened in 1904; children's ward, opened in November, 1914. The value of the twenty-six buildings of the City Hospital in 1921 was $983,031.44.

The Memorial Hospital of Worcester, while conceived in 1871, did not function until 1874, and then more as a dispensary, maintained by the bequest of Ichabod Washburn. This dispensary was opened in the Abijah Bigelow mansion, which had been vacated a couple of years earlier by the City Hospital. In 1888 it was removed to its present site. The Memorial Hospital, proper, was established in the Samuel Belmont Estate, that same year, with nineteen beds; it now has two hundred and fifty. The Memorial has gradually devoted more and more attention to the care of women and children. This was made possible by the gifts of Philip L. Moen and the widow of Dr. Henry Clarke, in the latter case as a memorial to Dr. Clarke. The expansion of the hospital plant began in 1892 with the building of the present round wards, ten private rooms. A surgery was added in 1902 by Mrs. Wood. In 1905 a fund of $34,000 was raised by subscription to make the children's ward adequate to the need, Miss Mabel C. Gage having charge of this successful campaign. The good work was continued by other citizens, notably by Charles A. Chase, Dr. Leonard Wheeler, Reginald Washburn, and Dr. Homer Gage and resulted in the opening, in 1909, of the Rebecca A.

Morgan Maternity Ward; the George L. Newton Building for private patients, and the Children's Building containing forty-eight beds, a large playroom and roof garden.

Belmont Hospital was organized as the Worcester Isolation Hospital, in 1896, on its present site and has always been under the direction of the Worcester Board of Health. The plant then consisted of about one-half of the present Administration Building, and two pavilions, each of twenty-five beds, one pavilion for diphtheria patients, and the other for scarlet fever. Worcester was a pioneer in this respect, and a set of photographs of the institution exhibited in the Paris Exposition won for the city of Worcester a gold medal. In 1900 the capacity was doubled, and another ward for diphtheria was established in 1907. In 1914 the Putnam Tuberculosis Ward was opened, the land being given to the city by Henry Putnam for the purpose. The erection of the Belmont Hospital cost the city about $275,000. The capacity is about one hundred and fifty beds.

St. Vincent's Hospital is under the direction of the Sisters of Providence, Catholic, but is non-sectarian. It was opened in September, 1893, with a capacity of one hundred beds, many more therefore than either of the earlier Worcester hospitals began with. Its site is an entire square on Vernon Hill. Its capacity was recently doubled, and St. Vincent's is therefore classed in importance with the City and Memorial hospitals. In addition, St. Vincent's has a branch establishment at Millbury, the branch being a maternity hospital, known as Mt. St. Joseph's Hospital. In 1922 a bequest of Rev. Dr. John J. McCoy established a fund for the maintenance of hospital treatment for needy sick girls.

Worcester County has been chosen as the site of a number of State institutions of varied types, and has been either a region in which humanitarian experiments have been tried, or where some of them originated in the Commonwealth. Incidental to this chapter, mention has been made of the first State sanitorium for tuberculosis in the United States, opened at Rutland, in 1898. This town is also the site of the Rutland State Camp and Hospital, established in West Rutland, in 1904, in order to give outdoor employment to male prisoners. The hospital section was added in 1907 to segregate and care for tubercular prisoners, and the use of the State farm for the confinement of convicted inebriates. Crime has come to be considered in many cases a disease, but it was not with this idea that the Lyman School for Boys was started in Westborough as long ago as 1847. At that time the classification of prisoners was being given marked consideration, and the Lyman School was created to receive delinquent boys under fifteen years. A similar school for girls was authorized in 1854, to be located at Lancaster. The first named school received its title in honor of Theodore Lyman, of Brookline, the chief

advocate of the reform in penology it represented. Westborough is also the site of the Westborough State Hospital, founded in June, 1884, but not opened as a hospital until December, 1886. It is an institution for the mentally afflicted. Of more recent origin is the Gardner State Colony, also for the insane. A splendid example of the modern attitude toward the psychopathic and feeble-minded unfortunates, it was opened on October 22, 1902, on a wooded estate of 1,848 acres not far from Gardner. The large central dormitories and numerous colony cottage system is in force, and every feasible method of work and play is utilized in the treatment of its inmates.

The Worcester State Hospital is the "first such institution to be founded by a State Government in the United States, and was the third asylum for the insane in New England." All of this statement is true whether one means the date of its inception, 1828; the gift by the town to the State of twelve acres, in 1830; its establishment by the State, in 1832, when fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for plant or equipment; or January 19, 1833, when the first patient was received. E. Melvin Williams relates, in part: The place was overcrowded before the end of the first year. One hundred and sixty-three patients were admitted in the first year, most of them being of the criminal insane class, some coming in chains, criminal lunatics with life sentences. Additional wings were built from time to time, and in 1877 the Lunatic Hospital had responsibility for the care of more than four hundred inmates. In the meantime, the new hospital on Belmont Street had been built at a cost to the State of about $1,310,000 for buildings and land. By 1888 the Belmont Street plant had capacity for eight hundred patients; it is still being conducted. After the transfer of the criminal-insane to the Belmont Street Hospital in 1877, the vacated Summer Street buildings were used to serve as a temporary asylum for the chronic-insane. It was known as the Worcester Insane Asylum, and it was supposed that the inmates would eventually pass to the new plant. This was not done, however, and the Summer Street Asylum is now part of the Grafton State Hospital, which has developed into a large institution.

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Woman's Movement

What, for want of a better title, has been called the woman's movement, has not been treated separately in histories, particularly those of a local character. Women have had a part in everything that has been done, and if one, or a group of them, stand out in historic events, nothing pleases an author better than the recording of the fact. The accusation is made, however, that the male has been given undue prominence in the annals of our country because he seized the control in governmental affairs and offices, suffrage, religion, education, art, literature, industrial development and control, and almost all phases of human activity. The contention is that the women of today no longer play minor rôles in the thrilling drama of the development of the modern State, and therefore the story of the movement which is credited with bringing about the new conditions must now be told as itself a distinctive feature of history.

In Colonial days the women did not have a chance to display their abilities so as to win applause and admiration. It was thought that "woman was not created to pour the tide of eloquence into the Senate Chamber, or lead on to victory the brave and historic spirits of the land." She was expected to keep at home and stay out of sight; the place in the spotlight was reserved for the males, and she must shine by reflected radiance. All this is changed now, but was there anything in the heroic ancient days in which the pioneer woman did not share and bear their share and more? The first settlers faced the hardships and dangers together whatever the sex. Even the tilling of the soil was not solely a man's job. In the home woman laid the foundations of industries with her spinning wheel and loom, her making of bread and butter and countless necessities which must be manufactured (made-by-hand). The creation of morality and mind was her task; many of our ancestors had no education other than that secured at their mother's knee. When war came, and it did often and long, most of the care of the farm, home and children

THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY HOUSE

were placed upon the shoulders of the women who remained behind; many a father was in the Revolutionary armies for the full eight years. The Civil War brought about similar conditions. Out of the overburdening of the country came the combination of forces and the apportioning of labor which led to the growth of the "old red schoolhouse," of the academy, the lyceum and the library, of factory systems, industrial economies and many other ways of doing things which were novel and wise. The idea might be expanded to great length but, after all, the truth of the business is that the pioneer and still later women, shared what had to be done by those who laid the foundations of what we now have and enjoy, while in addition they attended to the work that they alone could do.

All of which was expressed in poetry years before women's organizations had become such a factor in the life of the community by that brilliant super-woman, Kate Field, who said:

They talk about a woman's sphere
As though it had a limit,
There's not a place in earth or heaven,
There's not a task to mankind given,
There's not a blessing or a woe;
There's not a whisper, yes or no,
There's not a life, a death, or birth
That has a feather's weight of worth
Without a woman in it.

In Worcester County, as elsewhere, a profound development of recent years has been the broadening of the interests and activities and powers of women. They have won rights which for ages belonged only to men. They have secured an equality of political and civil rights which men had denied them. They have come increasingly to share with men the burdens of the modern economic machine as wage earners, salaried workers and members of the profession. They have interested themselves particularly in the advocacy of certain humanitarian reforms. The account of the progress of the woman's movement in Worcester may be related under such phases as the intellectual, political, economic and humanitarian.

Intellectual Phase—The educational side of the woman's movement is not only the earliest in origin but probably the most important. It may be said not only to include feminine educators and education with the advance of both, but also the development of woman's clubs and similar organizations, the achievements of the sex in the professions, literary and artistic productions and an almost endless array of accomplishments, as regards history and

the inception of improvements, but the Commonwealth was slow in giving recognition to the duty of educating girls at public expense and allowing the female teacher her proper place in the educational system. "Despite the long exclusion of girls from public education, intellectual women, women of power, appear all the way down the three centuries." These are the words of Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, who in this connection points out that the first of the organized leaders of the woman's movement was Mrs. Hutchinson, of Puritan fame, "who did not need to have a man to tell her what to believe." She also instances such positive characters as Ann Bradstreet, the poetess, Mary Dyer, the Quaker, Madame Knight, the traveler, and the "trio of educated and influential Revolutionary figures, Abigail Adams and Mercy Warren and Hannah Dustin."

Education—Historians are pleased to note that free education in America had its rise in Massachusetts and to quote liberally from the numerous pronouncements of the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers. Nine boys graduated from Harvard College, in 1642, "its first specimens of high culture achieved in the woods of America." One of these went to Ipswich and set up the first free school, according to an entry in the town records, "The First day of the 9th, 1642. It is granted that there shal be a free Schole." Only seven free "schollars" could be admitted, however (1643). This was the year in which the first white man's cabin was built in the area of the present Worcester County.

During the following almost ninety years, towns were settled in the Worcester section, and most of them as they grew populous enough made provision for the education of the children, but always under a man teacher with the presence of girl children in the school frowned upon. A school, particularly of the "Latin" or grammar school, was a potential producer of male ministers, which in the minds of the Puritans was the chief end of education. Before the County of Worcester was established in 1731, however, "school dames" were employed to teach the smallest children, at a small or no wage. There probably was no period in Worcester's history when education was so completely in the hands of its women as during that from the beginning of the Revolution until the end of the eighteenth century, and none in which less public provision was made for the education of the female. Not until 1845 was the school committee "convinced that one dollar a week for teachers of the primary schools and a half dollar for teachers of the infant schools is not an inadequate allowance."

During the first half of the nineteenth century the town of Worcester, which was rather ahead of the other towns in the county, created a school system of such excellence as to become the model for school districts in

Massachusetts. The most notable feature of that half-century was the increase in the number of "academies," privately financed, whose pupils paid tuition and board. Those for girls emphasized the "Ornamentals"—music, drawing, painting and needlework, with "solid subjects," the three R's, next in importance, and "polite learning" for those who were so foolish as to desire to pursue the equivalent of the present high school curriculum. The academy and the seminary decreased greatly after the introduction of genuine public free schools. However notable the Worcester school system it was not until 1844 that leading citizens were converted to the belief that it was "both desirable and safe to give a classical education to girls." The Female High School, dating from 1831, was a so-called finishing school of high repute for some years; Mrs. A. M. Wells was its principal at first. The Misses Stearns opened a school for girls, early in the 1840's, and there were other "Dames" schools. Strangely enough, small boys were also taken into these schools, but as they grew older the boys were sent to the better high schools. It is noticeable, that all through the twentieth century every new sort of secondary educational school was first established for the boys, and later for girls.

There is no intention of trying to show that Worcester County was especially benighted as regards the education of girls, for actually it was in the van of the movement that produced institutions for the secondary and higher education of the sex and of co-educational schools. The historic Latin School for Boys (Worcester) founded in 1831, was consolidated with the Girls' English High School in 1845, to form the Classical High School of the city. If Worcester's colleges of the present are for men chiefly, it must not be forgotten that the State Normal School at Worcester was in 1915 turned over entirely to female students. One of the most interesting and pertinent features of this subject is illustrated by the old Oread Collegiate Institute, opened in 1849, which holds a place of distinction in national educational affairs as the pioneer of women's colleges. The history of this institution is given in another chapter; enough here that at the time of its inauguration "Oberlin was the only college open to women, and no college exclusively for women had been established." Oread's college courses was similar to those of Brown College, or University, Providence, Rhode Island, and its curricula was well in advance of its day and generation. Beloved Mary Lyon, a well-known figure in Worcester County, as elsewhere, had died that same year, 1849. She founded Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, but it was not until two decades later (1875) that Wellesley and Smith colleges functioned. Worcester, city and county, have produced a long and worthy line of women educators, and it is only for collegiate and professional training that girls must go outside of the county.

In Professions and Arts—In the narrative chapters of this work and in some of the special chapters, the records of men and women in the professions and allied activities have been mentioned without regard to sex. A writer upon the subject has said: "The achievements of women in the arts and professions probably do not parallel their inherent ability in these lines, and should not be judged without consideration of the handicaps imposed upon them by traditional prejudice and by the jealousy of the opposite sex." Massachusetts has the Portia Law School, Boston University, Northeastern University in which women may be educated in the law, and has such prominent women lawyers as Anna Christy Fall, Ellen Buckley, Sadie Lipner Shulman, Sybil Holmes, Edith M. Haynes, Jennie Loitman Barron, Emma Tousant, Clara Powers, Greta Coleman, Frances Brady and many others. In science it has been pointed out by Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley that Massachusetts women have achieved international fame in astronomy, and names, among others in this field, Maria Mitchell, Anna Jump Cannon, Henrietta H. Swope, Adelaide Ames, and such distinguished assistants as Cecelia Helena Payne, Ph. D., Margaret Walton, Helen Howard, Emma Williams and Margaret Harwood. In connection with medicine, Mrs. Bagley notes that the prejudice against women as doctors is gradually giving way, but quotes from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* which in commenting upon women being admitted to the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1882, said: "Enshrouded in her mantle of science, woman is supposed to be endowed with power to descend from that high pedestal upon which we men have always placed her and to mingle with us unscathed in scenes from which her modesty and esteem of the other sex has hitherto protected her." Mrs. Bagley comments: "The editor seems to have forgotten that women had long mingled in those 'scenes' as patients and as nurses. It was only as physicians that they were protected from them." Although there have been notable women members of the medical profession in the Commonwealth, a perusal of the chapter on physicians in this volume indicates that Worcester County has hardly provided its full quota in the past. The reader is referred to this chapter, but more particularly to the reviews of the lives of Clara Barton and Dorothea Dix, and others, in other chapters. If these internationally famed persons entered upon their great careers by way of the hospital rather than the medical school, it was, after all, by a most natural method. In no sphere of medicine have the women of the county shone more brightly than in nursing, in the establishment of hospitals, and in the never failing and faithful support they have given these institutions.

Literature and Art—Worcester County women have long been accorded a place among the literati of our country—they have written early, often and well. The ninth and tenth chapters of this history are almost in

their entirety, quotations from that treasure of Americana, "Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson." "Written By Her Own Hand for Her Private Use. And now made public at the earnest desire of some friends, and for the benefit of the afflicted." This precious leather-bound volume, published in 1682, has a value in history and for its literary quality that its rarity does not diminish. The author was the wife of the first minister of the frontier village of Lancaster.

Miss Harriet E. Henshaw of Leicester was a "writer of distinction in the Revolutionary years," and the historian would be without much valuable town and county material were it not for the numerous local histories compiled by or sponsored by women. Mrs. Harriet E. Henshaw has given us "The Hundredth Town," a study featuring Westborough, and "Early New England Diaries." Alice Morse Earle and her sister, Frances Cary Morse have presented vivid pictures of New England life, the former in "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," and the latter in the "Furniture of Olden Times," a joy to the collector. Lucy Stone Blackwell wrote concerning slavery both before and after the Civil War. Jane G. Austen of Worcester ranks high among the American authors of historical fiction, as witness her *Standish of Standish, Betty Alden,* and others.

Eva Marsh Tappan's juvenile books and fairy tales are "almost unrivalled." Martha Downe Tolman of Fitchburg: Mrs. Olive Higgins Prouty, the Misses E. T. Dillingham and A. B. Emerson; Mrs. Marvin M. Perry, Mrs. Claire M. Coburn Swift; Mrs. Homer P. Lewis; Mrs. Chetwood Smith; Fannie Stearns Davis Gifford, are some of Worcester County's novelists and poetesses. Caroline Atherton Mason of Fitchburg was a gifted writer of prose and poetry. Frances P. McKeon, Marietta Knight and Annie Russell Marble, are known for their compilation of classics for school use. Dr. Amy E. Tanner, of Worcester is the author of the study in psychology, *The Child;* Miss E. W. Curtis wrote *Dramatic Instinct in Education.* Isabel Hornibrook is widely known by boys and girls for her numerous and thrilling tales of camping and scouting. Lucy Heals and Margaret Getchell Parsons have established Worcester's reputation in drama. Mrs. Annie Russell Marble, Mrs. Amy Coburn Lyseth, Mrs. Oscar P. Tabor, Jr., Mrs. C. A. Vaughn, and the Misses Jennie G. Waite, Miriam Abbott and Jessie Dell Lewis, will be recalled with appreciation for their historical educational and Bible pageant plays.

In art women once met with many obstacles, for they were barred from many early schools, particularly if sketching from the nude was a part of the curriculum. It was many years before the male artist could be convinced that the other sex might be interested in something more than lace work and

china painting. Both as regards exhibits and exhibitors in the various art organizations of Worcester, the women usually outnumber the men. Further comparisons dare not be made. To sculpture, to the stage, and to the concert and opera stage, Worcester County and city have made few notable contributions, as regards performers, but in the promotion of the drama and of music, women have been the power behind the outstanding movements and societies, although usually being content to have the males hold official positions while the ladies did the work.

Clubs—Closely allied with women's advancement in education and the arts is the club movement and clubs, which latter of course include not only the social and the literary, but the political, economic and humanitarian. It must be granted that the male of the species came upon the stage of social life as a "joiner," natural or cultivated, long before the ladies began to get together in anything that approached the modern club. From the time the men had to associate for mutual benefit and protection before they could settle districts and towns, and even earlier, if the fraternal orders are taken into consideration, they have enjoyed a wide variety of organizations. Between the church and their own work and the care of their husbands and children, the pioneer women found no time to exploit their get-together spirit. Out of their religion and maternal impulse came the missionary societies, Female Tract Society and the Daughters of Temperance, and other early organizations. The Civil War taught women the advantages of coöperation, and brought about the rise of groups to aid the soldier before and after the conflict and especially while in the hospitals. No one could wish to deprive the women of our land of the honor of founding the forerunner of the Red Cross Society, of which our own Clara Barton was so long the head. In the early 'eighties there seems to have been a general impulse in the county to start "literary" societies. In general the purpose of these was "to stimulate intellectual and moral development and to strengthen individual effort by organization." It seems odd that so few of the ladies' organizations survived the Civil War in forms, social or cultural. Even the ladies auxiliaries to veteran's associations were a growth of later decades. The New England Women's Club is the chief exception, founded in 1868; perhaps the reason for its vitality lies in the fact that it began and continued a social work which covered so wide a field.

The modern women's club movement while it may be said to have started in 1868, historically, waited at least two decades before making much headway. In the winter of 1867-68, Charles Dickens, after a reading tour through the United States, was banqueted in New York City. Jennie Croly (Jennie June), noted journalist and others of her clan, asked for tickets to

the dinner and were refused, since it was to be given by the New York Press Club, a male organization. Jennie Croly's reaction to the rebuff was—why not a woman's club? In the same month, March, and the same year as the birth of the New England Woman's Club, 1868, the Sorosis of New York was born. When the Sorosis Club celebrated its majority in 1889, and all women's clubs known to exist were invited to attend the celebration, sixty-one out of the ninety-seven known women's clubs in the United States, attended. Two delegates represented Worcester. Not until the last two decades of "that century which stands forever a monument to the abolition of slavery and a new attitude toward women (the association of these two ideas are those of the orator)" was there any spontaneous movement in the direction of women's clubs in Worcester, or the State, and the years just prior to and after 1890, were the most prolific in the formation of the most of the larger woman's clubs cultural societies, ancestral and patriotic organizations. In 1889 the Sorosis Club suggested the organization of a National Federation of Women's Clubs. It was done a year later, and in 1891 was functioning fairly well, although with few members. State Federations were a part of the scheme and the Worcester County clubs were quick to join with the Massachusetts body. In 1930 there were in the county ten thousand women connected with the general confederation together with a large number of societies not so affiliated.

Among the women's clubs of Worcester are: The Worcester Women's Club, founded on December 9, 1880, with its first officers, Frances M. Baker, president; Harriette P. Draper, Mary P. Jefts, vice-presidents; Alla W. Foster, secretary; Melora F. Pratt, treasurer. It is one of the strongest clubs in the city, its membership always being up to the limit established. Since October 6, 1902, it has occupied its present fine club house. The Catholic Women's Club, organized in 1906, is similar in purpose to the Worcester Women's Club. The Worcester Girls' Club is also large and active. The Worcester Branch of the Woman's Department, National Civic Federation, was established in May, 1912, by Mrs. George Crompton, and has done a great deal of useful service since. Mrs. Emma D. Harris was the donor of the Girls' Club house. The Levana Club, an association of teachers, founded in 1905, with Emma A. Porter as president, was a forerunner of the modern parent-teachers associations, although itself radically different. There are several strong college clubs, such as the College Club of Worcester, organized in 1897 by twenty-two women college graduates, and the Worcester Smith College, founded in 1894; the Wellesley College Club, also of 1894; the Cornell Women's Club, of Worcester, dating from 1912. The Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association, one of the oldest in Worcester, was started in 1875, with forty members.

In Fitchburg the woman's club movement had its inception in the temperance movement, more especially in 1875, when the Fitchburg Women's Temperance Union was formed; the Young Women's Temperance Union was born just a decade later. The Fitchburg Women's Club has a large membership, and the Fitchburg Teachers' Association plays more than its customary rôle. The city has the Fitchburg and the Betsy Ross chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other patriotic and humanitarian societies. It will serve no good end to attempt to list the many female organizations in the cities or the towns of the county, since practically all the major societies and clubs of national note, whatever the kind, are represented.

The Political Phase—The history of the political phase of the woman's movement in Worcester County is a thrilling story of women struggling to gain political and legal privileges. This tale, while a part of the general annals of politics and government, needs further study to disclose the evolution of suffrage, of women's place in political parties, of partisan and non-partisan leagues, of customs and law concerning woman's eligibility to hold public office, and of the gradual extension to women of equal legal rights with men. Women's voting power in the State was negligible until a limited school suffrage was permitted them in 1881, although in many religious organizations they enjoyed a practical equality in management. In the early Congregational and Unitarian Church, however, the ladies were supposed to listen and leave the government of the church to the men. The first appearance of women as leaders in what might be called political affairs, dates from about a hundred years ago, when feminine agitators against slavery and intemperance appeared.

Properly the promotion of temperance and the destruction of slavery are parts of the humanitarian phase of the woman's movement, but what was accomplished in both these movements was reached, to an important extent, through the polls. It may be of interest to note that Millbury was one of the first towns in America to form a Temperance Society. This was in 1808, the same year as a similar one was founded in New York State. Women were responsible in Millbury for the passing of a resolution in town meeting, in 1831, which put the town on a prohibition basis. It was not until fifty years later that the ladies were able to place on record: "Voted that the town ask the Legislature to extend to women who are citizens the right to hold town office and to vote in town affairs, on the same terms as male citizens." Worcester women were especially prominent in the Washington Benevolent Society, one of the earliest of temperance societies, which operated in the county from 1813 to 1836. The Temperance Crusaders was organized in 1874 for the express purpose of destroying saloons by force or otherwise.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was established in the city in 1878, and in most of the towns of the county about that time.

The anti-slavery movement was another of the means by which women were drawn from the shelter of the home into the larger currents of human affairs. Lucy Stone Blackwell, author, of West Brookfield, and Abby Kelley, Quaker, of Worcester, wrought valiantly for abolition. Abby Kelley resigned her position as a school teacher in 1837 to lecture at anti-slavery meetings, and "was the first of the many women to address mixed audiences in favor of abolition. For a quarter of a century she spoke and worked for the cause in all parts of the country."

The agitation for equal suffrage made haste slowly, although such a movement had been coeval with that of anti-slavery, and its first leaders were drawn from abolitionist and temperance speakers. The first national women's rights convention was held in October, 1850, at Worcester, a fact and a date that are memorable. The growth of both the idea and its promotion was nevertheless slow; particularly in Worcester, Fitchburg and the larger places of mixed populations and religions. There were too many forces opposed and too few women emancipated enough to form a substantial following. The order of progress toward equal suffrage was first in the churches, then in a few school elections, and later in town affairs where the fair sex were permitted to vote. On January 28, 1870, the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association was formed, with Julia Ward Howe as president. On October 4, 1886, the Worcester Woman's Suffrage League, non-partisan, was formed with Mrs. Mary C. Harris as president. Among the members were the Mrs. A. H. Briggs, Joseph A. Howland, M. A. Wheelock, Kate C. Taft, and the Misses Sarah Earle, Sarah Henshaw, Sarah E. Wall, and fifty others. Miss Henshaw succeeded Mrs. Harris a year later and served until her death in 1902. She was followed by Mrs. Edwin H. Marble. The Worcester Woman's Suffrage League early affiliated with the Massachusetts State Suffrage Association, and in 1917 disbanded, turning over its funds to the major association. The Worcester Equal Franchise Club was formally organized on January 13, 1913, although temporarily formed during the preceding year. Dr. Myrtle Smith was the first president, and Miss Mary Allen, Miss Ellen Callahan, Mrs. Emile Landry, Mrs. Herbert Johnson, Mrs. Hartley Bartlett, and Miss Katherine Forbes were the other officials. On April 14, 1913, the club joined the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association. The Equal Suffrage Club undertook the active work of making an educative campaign for suffrage before the referendum of 1915, and was remarkably successful. It was but the first of a number of lively campaigns. Worcester, in which the first National Suffrage Convention was held in 1850, was the eighth State to

ratify the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919. In 1920 the last woman's suffrage convention was held.

The Economic Phase—The story of the gradual development of the Worcester woman's activities in economic life differs but slightly from that of the more populous and industrial counties. Like the political rights of which the women had none in the early part of the nineteenth century, so their economic rights have progressed from an almost irreducible minimum to the height and breadth of the present day. Outside of the home, and often in it, woman's first employment was as teacher with a low standing and pay that has already been indicated. It was very late in the century before the average wage of the female teacher approached equality of the male. "Between 1840 and 1890" writes Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, "developed a woman-operative system under which thousands of the women were employed in the mills—nearly all of them in monotonous manual labor. Alongside this class was a growing and numerous group of saleswomen, presently flanked by the professional typists and secretaries. The definite contribution of women to the wealth of the State, their employment in gainful occupations, their success in many of the arts and sciences, gave impetus to the demand that they should be put on a political equality with men. The number of self-sustaining and independent women in 1890 was a hundred times as great as it had been in 1790. Hence the forty years from 1890 witnessed the enfranchisement of women from an inferior status as workers, and recognized them as human beings of equal capacity with men, who might share in the making of laws and the dispensation of justice." The percentage of women workers in industrial establishments during the last three decades, nearly thirty per cent., has made their protection as wage earners a matter of deep concern. Two organizations have been prominent in this work, the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, and the Massachusetts Consumers' League.

The Humanitarian Phase—Women have always been leaders in many of the humanitarian organizations and reforms in Worcester as in other counties and states. They have been keenly interested in the anti-slavery and temperance movements, in war relief and Red Cross activities, and in social welfare work. The county has produced such international leaders as Clara Barton of the Red Cross, and Dorothea Dix, advocate of the humane treatment of the insane. Of these much has been written, although they are but two of many. War seems to bring out the best in women while often it brings out the worst in men. Worcester County's women's Red Cross work, and their prominence in all manner of war relief and humanitarian organi-

zations has been given credit, inadequate perhaps, in the chapters on war, particularly the World War. After the end of the World War, the Worcester chapters and numerous feminine organizations of that period did not disband, but began a peace-time program of inestimable worth. Social welfare work has, in the limited sense of "settlement work," naturally been confined mainly to the four cities of the county and the large industrial centers. The Young Women's Christian Association in the county, and like organizations, Catholic, Hebrew, and others, are themselves social welfare organizations and promoters of social reforms. The Worcester Young Women's Christian Association was conceived on June 13, 1885. Under the presidency of Mrs. Charles G. Reed, rooms were opened on February 1, 1886. Four years later the main part of the present fine headquarters was erected, in 1890, at a cost of more than $87,600; the educational and gymnasium equipment was started in 1916, at a cost of nearly $75,000. Social legislation has been sponsored by a variety of woman's organizations.

CHAPTER XLIX

Education and Educational Institutions

Lord Macaulay, in a speech before the English Parliament in 1847, paid his compliments to Massachusetts and the Puritans for subscribing to the principal that "the State should take upon itself the charge of the education of the people." He continued his argument with "In the year 1642 (1647?) they passed their first legislative enactment upon this subject." The law, to which Lord Macaulay refers, read as follows:

It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall forthwith appoint one within the town to teach such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by the way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint, provided, those that send their children shall not be oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught in other towns; and it is further ordered, that, where a town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct the youth so far as they may be fitted for the university, provided that, if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that such town shall pay five pounds to the next school, till they perform this order.

In 1683, October 10, the following law was added: "The Court doth order that whenever a town has five hundred families, it shall support two grammar schools and two writing schools." Manual training may be said to have been introduced by an act of June 14, 1642, whereby the "prudential" authorities of a town should "have the power to take account, from time to time, of all parents and masters, and of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion, and the capital laws of the country, and to impose fines." Trades were to be taught those children; materials such as hemp, flax, etc., with the tools with which to work them to be supplied by the towns. One other article of this law should be noticed, "for

their better performance of their trust committed to them, they may divide the town amongst them, appointing each of the townsmen a certain number of families to have oversight of."

In these laws are to be found the foundation of the common school system of Massachusetts. Education was to be taken in hand by the people themselves through officials elected by the people, and this was an entirely novel proceeding, State provision for education being not only almost unknown, but as seen by Macaulay's argument nearly two centuries later, one of the things still lacking in the English system of education. The Puritan laws laid the foundations for the elementary or country school, where was taught the three R's; for the secondary school, the grammar school with its limited curriculum intended to prepare for college; for the higher school or university, although that institution was little more than a training school for ministers in the beginning. Both religious and industrial training was provided for, and the germ of the district school system, the system that ruled the State educational work until a better scheme was substituted centuries later. In every way the laws were remarkable, particularly when it is realized that the makers were so recently from England and were steeped in the educational traditions of that country.

There was practically no change in the major school laws until after the Revolution. The town was the unit of school administration. In 1789 a law was enacted that legalized a practice that was growing, and which had been made possible by the law of 1683, that is, the districting of a town, or the dividing it into sections for the management of school affairs. In 1827 the district was empowered to become a corporation, could tax itself to build and furnish schoolhouses, and select teachers. As one writer comments, this was "the high-water mark of modern democracy, and the low-water mark of the Massachusetts school system." By 1850 the district system was in force in 316 of the 333 towns in the State, and in Worcester County there were only a few where this system was not in operation. The average of the State was nine districts to the town, some having as many as forty. It was, of course, proving itself to be a very expensive and inefficient system.

The history of the Worcester County school system, and of Worcester, differs but little from that of any other section of the Commonwealth not immediately located around Boston. When Lancaster, the first settled town in the present county, adopted a "covenant of laws and orders," provision was made for the maintenance of a "minester Pastor or Teacher." The bonds, or agreements, of later towns stated somewhat more definitely the rule of having and supporting a "schole" and usually indicated the penalties for neglect. It takes more than law, or agreements, however, to establish habits or systems. The pioneers of Quinsigamond were neither wealthy, nor

was the number of educated men sufficient to leaven the whole. The people were too busily engaged in subduing the land and forcing it to provide a living for parents and family, to worry about finding the means to pay a schoolmaster and to build a schoolhouse. The Indian attacks of the latter part of the seventeenth century put an end, for the time, to settlement in the Worcester region, and to education problems. In the first quarter of the following century rapid progress was made in resettlement, and there were fourteen towns in the territory set apart as Worcester County, in 1731.

Education did not keep pace with settlement. So far as accepted records go, it was not until 1825 that Worcester voted to "provide a writing master to instruct the youth." One Jonas Rice was engaged on April 4, 1726, as the teacher, "to instruct pupils to read and write" as the law directs; to keep the school open from May to December of that year; his wage to be paid by the town. Rice used his own home for a schoolhouse, and his stipend did not exceed $75 the year. Evidently this salary proved too high, for within a week after Jonas Rice completed the school term, Worcester voted to forego any more instruction and instructors. This being contrary to the law of the Province, the town authorities were called before the General Court and a fine of sixteen pounds, ten shillings imposed. The shocked town fathers immediately arrived at the conclusion that it was very little more expensive to support a school than to pay fines to the court. A committee was appointed to see that thereafter the town complied with the minimum of the law's requirements. It would seem that Worcester's educational past is a bit shady in spots; that progress was made under pressure. Probably few of the educational records made by the county towns in the eighteenth century would bear close scrutiny.

The local census of 1731, carried on in connection with the erection of the county, disclosed that Worcester had more than one hundred families. The law required all towns of this population to establish a grammar, or Latin, school in addition to the elementary schools (reading and writing schools). Worcester again had to be "presented" to the court and fined, before complying with the law. This criminal neglect savors of good sense, for Worcester at the time, 1731, already had arranged for the employment of a schoolmaster and "not exceeding five school dames, at the charge of the town, for teaching of the small children to read." Grudgingly the town fathers established a grammar school, but apparently they put it off long enough to save more than the fine paid, and started it soon enough to escape another fine. At any rate, in 1733 there was a grammar school, which the aforementioned Jonas Rice taught for a month, and which Richard Rogers taught for eight years. Rogers' salary, fifty pounds, evidently was considered a good one, judging from the length of his stay.

In 1733, so far as is known, the town voted to build its first schoolhouse "in ye centor of ye South half of ye Town" and to be "Twenty-four feet Long, Sixteen feet wide and seven feet Studd to be Compleatly finished with a good Chimney." It was "compleated" five years later, and is of historical interest as the house in which "John Adams, the successor of Washington in the Presidency, taught the grammar school from August, 1755, to October, 1758." This schoolhouse was much better than the average in the county and probably cost about one hundred and fifty dollars. The annual school appropriations in the 1730's, covering instruction in one classical school and in four elementary school districts may have totaled another like sum. In 1740 the amount appropriated for school purposes was one hundred pounds, evenly divided between the sole grammar school and the four school districts. Important provisions of this year were: To save the town from "presentment" in court and fine; there must be "twelve months schooling of (by) a writing master"; and that all schools must be free. The "twelve months schooling" was to be divided equally among the four "skirts" or town districts, or three months teaching in each. The twelve-week session of the common school was considered ample for many years, not only in Worcester but in most of the towns in the State. In 1842 the apportionment in Worcester of the twelve months schooling was—nine months to be divided equally between the four quarters of the town for teaching at the homes of Dr. Moore, Thomas Parker, Henry Lee and Elisha Smith, and the other three months in the grammar schoolhouse. Whatever one may think of the simple story of Worcester's development of a school system thus far, it must be granted that at least the town had primary and secondary schools which were free as regards tuition, a school committee, or board, and the nucleus of the district system, or accurately, a town district system, and all this almost two centuries ago.

It is doubtful whether this early interest in education came from within. The history of the next half century seems to indicate that our forefathers cared more for escaping the penalties of laws established a hundred years before than for education itself. From the 1740's to well after the Revolutionary War, the town records include many references to educational proposals made in town or school committee meetings, but very few really progressive measures carried out. In 1745 a town committee recommended the appropriation of £110 for the support of schools; that measures be taken for the protection of families living far from a school, by excusing them from the payment of school taxes; and to keep the town out of court with the inevitable fine. Like most such reports it was laid away and forgotten. In 1755 John Adams, at the behest of Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, M. D., began his career as master of the Latin, or grammar school, and during his

three-year régime, this school remained steadfastly in the "Centre" of Worcester. With his departure the town reverted to the "moving school" scheme, and in 1759 the grammar school evidently was discontinued. A few years later, 1763, John Chandler, James Putnam, and others, were granted permission to build at their own expense, a "classical" school, the first of the private schools of Worcester. The town fathers had the bright idea of having this school called the Town's Grammar School, "for the benefit of such persons in town as shall incline to send their children there." but it took more than three years to get the people and General Court to adopt this idea.

The above quoted words date not from 1763, but 1769. In the interim Worcester County and town had been endeavoring to have the law repealed requiring the support of a Latin, or grammar, school in towns the size of Worcester. The representatives to the General Court had been instructed to promote the passage of a ruling "that no more than one such school should be kept in a county." It was claimed then, as later, that the secondary school, call it grammar, Latin, classical, academy, was intended (1) to "begin the training of Congregational ministers"; (2) to create an aristocracy based upon useless knowledge and showy manners; (3) to increase the burden of the poor for the benefit of the rich. The opposition forces did not prevail, hence the endeavors of the town to make a deal with the private school whereby the few who really desired something more than a rudimentary education, should be able to gain it at the smallest possible cost to the town. In this it was successful, and for some years thereafter, sixteen pounds were paid annually to the private school, whose proprietors agreed "that the school should be free to all persons in the town desirous of learning the languages, *i. e.,* Latin and Greek." "It became a very successful preparatory school for Harvard College, among those being graduated therefrom to Harvard being Rufus, Nathaniel and William Chandler, Dr. William Paine and his brothers, Samuel and Nathaniel, James Putnam, Jr., and David Bigelow."

During the two decades from 1769 to 1789 progress in education was retarded or absent. The rising tide of rebellion which eventuated into the American Revolution affected all parts of Massachusetts, although not so sharply as Boston. Neighbor turned against neighbor; many of the wealthiest citizens were Loyalists; no concerted action could be taken in the support of the common, and particularly the grammar schools. When the break from the Mother Country actually occurred all energies were devoted to the promotion of the Revolution to the neglect of many things, among which was education. Even the coming of peace brought no surcease from difficulties, for the Continental currency was almost valueless and there was too small an amount of foreign coins to serve as a base or standard. In 1781, the school

AERIAL VIEW OF THE GARDNER HIGH SCHOOL AND NEW ATHLETIC FIELD

Photo by Gardner Artist Studio

appropriation of Worcester was £4,000; a year later it was £100; the intrinsic value of the expenditure was about the same in both years. By 1786 the aftermath of the Revolution, the taxes imposed for the expense of forming a State and national government, with the resultant poverty and unrest which led to the Shays' Rebellion of that same year, thrust the problem of education farther into the background. Worcester was called again and again before the court, but although shown guilty of neglect, was not fined, probably because there was no money to pay a fine, and none to carry on schools as required by the ancient law.

In 1789 Massachusetts made its first real change in a hundred years in its school system and, as seems customary, made the change from the top down. It has been pointed out that the first Puritans became interested in starting a college (Harvard) and Latin schools, in their small agricultural community, prior to the firm establishment of primary schools. It is also true of the building of the modern educational system that the State often has been first in introducing improvements in higher education while failing to set the pace in common school development. The explanation may be that the Commonwealth has been insistent upon permissive legislation during the most of its educational history. For example, in 1839 the consolidation of schools was permitted but was not made compulsory until a half century later. The practice of forming districts which had long been in use was only legalized under the "New System of Education" on September 23, 1789. At this time also pseudo-legality was given to the schooling of girls. In that same year Worcester was up before the court once more, and the second private classical school, or seminary, took over the teaching of the town's grammar school pupils. The seminary had been founded by an "association of gentlemen, uniting in a stock company (1784) which hired a lot of land, and erected a schoolhouse." As it had been before, the town was irregular in its support of the seminary, and resorted to the "moving" school prior to 1808. In 1819, or 1820, a true primary school was started for children of both sexes under seven years of age, which was intended to fit the children for the "writing" schools. "In these schools (writing) the children of both sexes (are) to be taught to spell, accent and *read* both prose and verse; also to be instructed in English grammar and composition" according to the rules laid down by the school committee, and also were to be taught arithmetic "including vulgar and decimal fractions," although the last provision was permissive and often neglected.

The Worcester of 1825 made a genuinely notable contribution to school management in the State. In this sketch the words "school committee or

board" have been used loosely and not as referring to the school boards of more modern times. They were, in most cases, groups of men appointed to consider specific problems upon which they were expected to report. The town meeting usually elected teachers, fixed their salaries, voted supplies, and determined the location and building of schoolhouses. Occasionally the town or its selectmen appointed inspectors, or visiting committees, but school commissioners, or board of overseers, were "permitted" only after 1789, and did not in Worcester come into use and power until about 1825. It was not until the last century that they functioned in anything like the way that is now so familiar. In 1823, however, Worcester began to show some public school spirit, and awakened to the need of better conditions in its school practices. A quick recovery had been made from the effects of the War of 1812; its population was increasing rapidly and by varied racial elements; industrialism was replacing agriculture, and the time for emergence from a peaceful, almost somnolent, order of things was at hand.

A committee appointed in 1823, consisting of Samuel M. Burnside, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, Governor Levi Lincoln, Otis Corbett and Samuel Jennison, studied the schools of the Worcester Centre District, and reported the following resolutions:

> Your committee recommend that a board of twelve overseers be chosen annually by ballot, whose duty it shall be in conjunction with the selectmen to determine upon the qualifications of instructors and to contract with them for their services; to determine upon the attainments of scholars to be admitted to said schools respectively; to prescribe the course of instruction therein and all necessary rules and regulations for the government thereof; to determine upon all complaints of instructors, of parents, or of scholars, which may arise in relation to said schools, or either of them; to visit and examine said schools respectively at stated periods during the year; to encourage in every suitable manner both instructors anad scholars in the performance of their relative duties; and to make a report in writing annually to the District of the condition of said schools during the period of their office.

The town of Worcester went much more thoroughly into the matter than other townships, and after the system had been tested in the local schools and found to be "highly beneficial and practical," Mr. Burnside carried the recommendations to the State Legislature where eventually a law was enacted bringing the Worcester School System into effect in all school districts of Massachusetts. This was a noteworthy achievement, "and laid the foundation of the present admirable school system of the Commonwealth." At all events, the practice of vesting the exclusive jurisdiction over the public schools in a committee elected directly by the people is believed to have been

first adopted in Worcester; and its extension over the whole State was, it seems, chiefly due to the efforts of Mr. Burnside of Worcester.

The first Board of Overseers appointed in Worcester included all of the original committee, excepting Mr. Jennison, the other members being Aretius B. Hull, Loammi Ives Hoadley, John Davis, Theophilus Wheeler, Enoch Flagg, Benjamin Chapin, and Frederick W. Paine. The schools were graded, and assignments made as recommended; and three years later Mr. Burnside succeeded in extending the system over the State.

The report of the Board of Overseers for the year 1828 showed that, in addition to the grammar school, which was for boys only and was directly supported by the town, there were eight permanent schools and one temporary school in the town. They comprised the north and south infant schools, kept in small schoolhouses built in 1800, and situated respectively on the west side of Summer Street, and on the southeast part of the Common; the North and South primary schools, both of which were kept in the Centre Schoolhouse; the Second Female School and the English School for Boys; and the Female High School, which corresponded with the Latin Grammar School, excepting that only English branches were taught; the African School, situated on the eastern corner of Pine Street Burial-ground; and the Apprentices' School, kept for three winter months for apprentices and clerks.

It may be said in connection with this period, as regards the State as a whole, that Horace Mann was elected to the Legislature in 1826. This brilliant educator was chosen secretary of the first Board of Education, of Massachusetts, in 1837, giving up his profession, law, to devote himself to the creation of a common school system. In nothing was he more heroic than in his continued appeal for professional supervision of schools. Worcester did not have a superintendent of schools until 1857, Rev. George Bushnell, although Horace Mann was recommended for this post in 1840. While in the Legislature in 1835 Mann drafted the bill which made possible, in 1839-40, the opening of the Bridgewater, Lexington and Barre Normal schools. The rapid increase of private academies was checked by 1840, and the high school came into its own. In 1840 there were one hundred and fourteen academies in the State, and eighteen high schools; in 1860 there were one hundred and two high schools in which Latin and Greek were taught. "In 1820 there was no educational virility anywhere in the country, but every movement of Horace Mann in Massachusetts had touched a live social and civic nerve in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and was vibrating sympathetically from those states west and north."

In Worcester the multiplication of districts went merrily on; and by the turn of the nineteenth century they were known by numbers instead of names. When the town became a city, in 1848, there were eight infant schools, five primary schools, three grammar schools, a high school and the African school, in the Centre District, and fifteen in neighboring districts. By 1855

there were 3,300 pupils, fifty-six women teachers and seven men teachers, but the total appropriation for school purposes at that time was only $22,000. Arabella H. Tucker, in writing about school conditions in the middle decades of the last century, after pointing out the many weaknesses of the system practiced, some of them due to untrained and underpaid teachers, remarks: "Many of the features of the present school system were prefigured in those days. The women teachers, vacations, graded schools, trade schools; and there were even the criticisms that the schools have to bear today (1922). The overcrowding of the curriculum was complained of in 1840; the committee reported at the examination of one of the schools that the children between eight and twelve recited in grammar, arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, and chemistry, also they had daily recitations in reading, writing and spelling. Complaint was made that more schools were needed, that not enough money was spent on the schools, that parents did not show interest in the progress of the children, and so forth. In 1860 the committee reported that there were 296 more pupils than seats in the Centre District. In 1854 the public was informed that Worcester was the lowest of the cities in the State in point of school attendance. How familiar it all sounds to us!"

The Latin School for Boys was started on November 21, 1831, when a committee met to decide upon the building of a school on a lot bequeathed by Isaiah Thomas, who had died earlier in the year. This lot was at the corner of Thomas and Summer streets, and by 1835 a brick school, two stories in height, thirty by sixty-seven feet had been erected. In 1851 the structure was torn down to make way for the present school which could accommodate 350 pupils. The Latin School for Boys went out of separate existence in 1845 when it was consolidated with the Girls' English High School.

Mention has been made of the efforts of Worcester citizens to provide the grammar schools required by law in towns of one hundred families,—1731, 1763, 1784 for boys, the Latin School for Boys, 1831, and the Female High School when the town suddenly arrived at the conclusion, in 1844, that it was safe to give the girls something above an intermediate education. The Latin School and the Girls' English High School were consolidated in 1871, when a new building was erected, and dedicated on December 30, 1871. Nutt in his *History of Worcester* says: "For twenty years following 1872 this school was a powerful influence in the educational world; but in 1892 it had to share the honors with a young and lusty child, the English High School, at the corner of Irving and Chatham streets. By a curious trick of fate this offspring, now called the High School of Commerce, in 1914 seized upon the newly enlarged family homestead and offered its own smaller quarters to the 'old folks.' The change was, however, made amicably, but with

considerable loss of traditions, for it seemed unwise to move all the accumulations of forty-two years of residence, and some of the schools' most cherished possessions are still in the old halls." Many notable educators have been the principals of the Classical and English High School; many of its graduates have risen high in the various walks of life. It has an annual enrollment of more than one thousand boys and girls.

The English High School, founded in 1892 on a broader scale than its name implies, was the forerunner of the High School of Commerce, which dates from 1914, when it replaced the English High School. An exchange of buildings was made at this time between the Worcester Classical School and the High School of Commerce. In 1901 the South High School was set up in a three-story building on Richards Street. Within four years additional quarters were needed, for the enrollment had increased from four hundred to more than a thousand. The North High School dates from October, 1911, and after two shifts of location, was established in its commodious quarters in September, 1916. Then there is the Worcester Evening High School; the Evening Practical Arts School, the Americanization School, and the Continuation School, with a total enrollment of above eight thousand students. The night school movement started as early as 1849, and the three original schools and four of later development, gave elementary instruction up to 1881. Nine years later there were an even dozen of these schools. In 1893 the first night high school was started in the Washington Street building. The Evening School Council was formed in 1921, with fifteen representatives from nine different nationalities. Its work has greatly increased the usefulness of these schools to the people of foreign birth.

Massachusetts led in the first crusade for the establishment of manual training in the elementary schools, in 1870, when Charles Francis Adams brought Colonel Francis W. Parker, who devoted five hard years of work to Quincy along lines which he had studied abroad. His slogan, "Learn to do by doing" not only was the base of his activities, but it also was adopted by several newer types of schools which have since become a part of our educational system. The manual training of the 'eighties and after, was followed by domestic science, and still later the broad development of vocational education. Milton P. Higgins was the inspiration and the leader of the movement in Worcester that led to the establishment of the Boys' Trade School, in 1909. This institution was not only the first of its kind in the Commonwealth, but grew so rapidly that it was reputed to be the largest in the State. The school was authorized by the city on December 31, 1908, and opened its doors to students on February 9, 1910. The curriculum and methods of instruction are similar to those of like institutions. The Girls' Trade School created in September, 1911, was patterned after the New York Trade School

for Girls. The full course of the school covers two years while that of the boys' is four years to graduation.

Attention has already been drawn to the awakening to the educational needs of communities in the early years of the 1820's, which was marked by numerous reforms and innovations during the middle decades of the last century. John G. Carter, associate of Horace Mann, was one of the great champions of the professional training of teachers. In 1827 he asked the Legislature for an appropriation for setting up a State Normal school. Refused, he opened a private normal school in Lancaster, Worcester County. In 1835 he drafted the bill that created two State Normal schools. Not until 1871 was the Worcester State Normal School authorized, and it was first ready to receive students on September 15, 1874. A number of buildings have been added to the old greystone structure of that period, and several thousand teachers have been graduated during the last six decades. In 1915 the institution was given over entirely to female students.

As we have seen, the public school system from the very first has been flanked by private and endowed schools, "grammar, Latin, classical, seminary, academy," open to pupils from fourteen to nineteen years of age, although this limit was in nowise fixed. Often they were short-lived and merely filled in a gap between what the selectmen would appropriate for education, and what was really needed. Worcester Academy, of splendid reputation and record, can fairly celebrate its hundredth anniversary. In 1834 certain Worcester cities of the Baptist faith, contributed $5,000 "to found a school whose advantages for elementary education should be of the first order; under good moral and decidedly religious influence; where every possible advantage should be afforded for productive manual labor, so that the instruction, while good, should not be expensive." In simpler language it was a school where a poor boy could get food and education at a small or no cost. The original title of the school was the Worcester County Manual Labor High School. A farm of sixty acres, on what is now Main Street and Hammond Avenue, was the site of this not unique school for its day and generation. Tuition was free; room rent cost two dollars a term; while the board bill was one dollar and a half a week, with twenty cents off if one drank no liquids. Work was provided at the rate of eight cents an hour to the big boys, with less to the small. In 1847 the name was changed to Worcester Academy, and conditions altered, but it never ceased from being a school in which the poor youth had his opportunity.

The Academy had many ups and downs, times like in 1844 when it had to close for a year because of lack of funds. During the Civil War, what later became its property, was used as a Union hospital for convalescing soldiers. The academy has often shifted its location, buildings and alliances. Part of

its original site was leased to Oread Institute, 1852; and in 1867 the trustees were sufficiently discouraged to plan to turn the assets of the school over to Newton Theological Seminary, but were prevented by the State. In 1869 the property of the defunct Ladies' Collegiate Institute was purchased by Isaac Davis, president of the original board of trustees, and Worcester Academy was made co-educational. The old Administration Building, which was a part of the purchase in 1869 had a history which throws quite some light upon the grandiose educational aspirations of that period as compared with results attained.

It was erected in 1845 by Dr. Calvin Newton, who in that year conducted therein a Botanico-Medical College. This enterprise took corporate form in 1849 as the Worcester Medical College. In 1852 in Aesculapian Hall (later the chapel) ten graduates, including one woman, were given the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In 1853 Dr. Newton died, and the property passed to the Ladies' Collegiate Institute, which had been founded by the Baptists of Worcester who planned to develop a seminary like that at Holyoke. Wings were added to the main building before the institute failed; and during the emergency of the Civil War these were used for hospital purposes by the Union forces. Soon after the war the temporary buildings were sold and removed, with the exception of the central barrack, which was used by the academy as a gymnasium until 1890. Isaac Davis, who was president for thirty-nine years, was honored in the naming of Davis Hall, the first dormitory built; Walker Hall was built in 1889, and was named to honor Hon. Joseph H. Walker, LL. D., who succeeded Mr. Davis as president in 1873, and held that office until his death. Adams and Dexter halls were both built in 1892, the latter in recognition of one of the most generous benefactors of the academy, William H. Dexter. The Kingsley Laboratories were erected and equipped in 1897-98. The new gymnasium was erected in 1915 at a cost of $100,000.

Notable among the principals of the academy was Dr. Daniel W. Abercrombie, its head from 1882 to 1918, and the chief factor in the development of the fine scholastic reputation the institution bears.

In the biographical volumes of this history, one will find repeated references to the Highland Military Academy. This famous school, during the last half of the past century, was even better known than Worcester Academy and held a high place in the affections of the residents of the city. It was founded October 5, 1856 and closed its doors in 1912, when the property was sold. George L. Clark was its business manager for more than a half-century, and Caleb B. Metcalf, Colonel John M. Goodhue and Joseph Alden Shaw were others who made the career of the school possible. Caleb Metcalf was the sole owner of the Highland Military Academy, and it remained as a part of his estate until its disposal in 1912. The Bancroft School, reputed to be the largest private school in New England, outside of Boston, was founded

in 1902 by Frank H. Robson. Professor Robson was its principal until 1914, and while the school included elementary and high school grades, the higher grades were confined to girls after 1913.

The short-lived Ladies' Collegiate Institute of the 1850's; the Female High School, established in 1831 by Dr. John Park; the Robert Phipps Classical School of 1836; the Misses Stearns' and other "Dames'" schools of a slightly later period, were all noble experiments in the education of girls when this was not customary or popular. Not one survived more than a few years. In the chapter on the Woman's Movement, the story of Oread Collegiate Institute has been related. It is worthy of repetition here that it was the national pioneer in colleges established exclusively for women at the time of its opening on May 14, 1849. Eli Thayer was its founder and, for the third of a century it existed, it was wholly in the hands of the Thayer family. Mr. Thayer outlined his plans for a college of six hundred students, or more than there were students in any American college of that day. Of the Collegiate Institute he said: "Oread Castle was founded in good faith under the honest conviction that it might serve the country and the world by advancing in some degree the able cause to which it is devoted." Oread Castle later housed the Worcester Domestic Science School, founded in 1898 by Henry D. Perky. This invaluable institution gave promise of great usefulness, but closed with the death of Mr. Perky seven years later. The more modern Worcester Domestic Science School was started by Frank M. Weathered, one of the teachers in the older school.

Among the private schools of Worcester by far the largest and most important group in the extensive system of parochial schools, maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, now leading without a break from the elementary grades to the two men's Catholic colleges, are Holy Cross and Assumption, and the Regis College for Women. There are probably forty parochial schools in the county and in Worcester there are the schools: St. John's, St. Anne's, Ascension, Notre Dame, St. Paul's, St. Joseph's, Holy Name of Jesus, St. Mary's, and St. Anthony's, which serve six thousand children of school age. Assumption College is the only French college of its kind in the United States. It was founded in 1904, and twice outgrew its dormitory space prior to 1911, when its large present central building was begun. Under the charge of the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption, the work has been carried on with unflagging zeal and efficiency. Never has the institution had financial support in proportion to the number of applicants for admission.

The history of the oldest Catholic college in New England, as summarized by an institution publication is as follows:

The College of the Holy Cross was founded in the year 1843 by the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick, second Bishop of Boston, and is the oldest

WORCESTER'S SECOND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Catholic college in New England. It had long been a cherished desire of Bishop Fenwick to establish in his diocese, which then included the city of Worcester, an institution for the higher education of Catholic young men. In bringing about the realization of this desire he was aided by the Rev. James Fitton, who had, as early as 1838, established the seminary of Mt. St. James on the hill which now bears that name, but was then known as Pakachoag, "Hill of Pleasant Springs." This institution, Father Fitton presented to the bishop in 1843, and on this site the distinguished prelate determined to build his college. He gave it the name of his Cathedral, with the motto and emblem of the Boston Diocese—a cross in the heavens, as it appeared to the Emperor Constantine, with its historic legend.

In order to secure for New England students the benefits of that unique plan of collegiate instruction, the *Ratio Studiorum,* which had been for two centuries the invigorating pattern of continental education, Bishop Fenwick invited the founders of that system, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose missionary and educational activities on the North American Continent began as early as 1610, to organize the course of study according to the curricula of their college at Georgetown in the District of Columbia, and to take entire charge of the teaching. On the second day of November, 1843, the first classes were organized, and were held in the seminary structure until the completion of the first college building in January, 1844.

The generous patronage and zealous interest of Bishop Fenwick continued unfailingly, and a few days before his death on the 6th of August, 1846, he ceded to the Fathers full possession of the institution, land and buildings unencumbered.

A disaster that threatened its existence visited the young college in July, 1852, when the whole of the central building was destroyed by fire. Through the sympathetic coöperation of Rt. Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick, who had succeeded to Bishop Fenwick's see, only a single scholastic year was lost, for the college, enlarged and remodeled, reopened on the 3d of October, 1853.

The college campus contains sixty acres on the southern end of the city of Worcester, nearly two miles from the business district, at an elevation of 693 feet above the sea. During the last decade there have been added to the campus three fine structures, St. Joseph's Chapel, Dinand Library, and Loyola Hall. Plans are now being drawn for a new dining hall which is to be erected, probably before the end of 1934, on the northern border of the terrace between Alumni and Loyola halls.

The following is a list of the college buildings with the years of erection:

Fenwick Hall is the oldest of the college buildings. In the spring of 1875 the remnant spared by the fire of 1852 was raised and extended toward the

east. The central span houses the offices of the administration on the first floor, faculty living quarters on the second, and student dormitories on the third.

O'Kane Hall, named for a former beloved rector of Holy Cross, stands at the summit of Linden Lane facing the campus. It was built in 1895 and is a lively center of undergraduate activity.

Alumni Hall, which the generosity of former students made it possible to erect in 1905, is a thoroughly modern, fireproof building, the upper floors of which contain nearly one hundred private living rooms available for residence to members of the sophomore class. The rest of the building is devoted to purposes of the Physics Department.

Bevan Hall is the first of the college buildings encountered by the visitor to Holy Cross. The gift of the late Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, D. D., and the clergy of the Springfield diocese, it opened to its first occupants in September, 1913. Modern in every detail, the three upper floors provide comfortable living quarters for the members of the junior class, while the Biology Department has the entire lower floors for its quarters.

Loyola Hall is the newest of the dormitory buildings, having opened its doors for the first time in 1922. Its location and design make it an architectural companion of Alumni Hall.

Dinand Library situated on the terraced slope between O'Kane and Beaven halls, exemplifies the best tradition of the architecture of the Italian Renaissance. Dedicated in November, 1927, it is already accorded a prominent place among establishments of its kind. The number of volumes owned and available approximate 100,000 and they represent to a satisfactory degree, every major classification of the Library of Congress.

St. Joseph Memorial Chapel, the center of the student's spiritual life, rears its colonnaded façade above the scene at the eastern extremity of the campus. Known for its architectural beauty and purity of design, it is a fitting symbol of the ideals that permeate and dominate the culture of Holy Cross.

The Athletic Fields contain the football gridiron, the baseball diamond, the quarter-mile track, tennis courts, handball courts, basketball courts, and facilities for other outdoor sports. The baseball diamond on Fitton Field is bounded on the east by the football gridiron which is surrounded on three sides by stadia seating nearly 20,000. Freshman Field and Alumni Field are suitable for practice and for the games of the junior teams. The plateau that crowns the hill south of the college buildings is laid out in diamonds and gridirons for intra-mural contests, in which the majority of undergraduates participate.

The system of education is the one common to all the colleges of the Society of Jesus and is guided by the principles outlined in the famous *Ratio Studiorum*. It is a system based on studied experience and centuries of observation. In this system the principle of unity in education is of prime importance. It makes the education of a youth from his entrance into college to the completion of his course a graded, related and systematic unit directed not to the mere accumulation of facts, but to the development of his faculties and the training of his character. This system invests education with all the sanctity and serious responsibility of religion itself.

During the Civil War lull in education Holy Cross received its charter as a college, and Worcester Polytechnic Institute was born. It would seem that the latter institution, like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was a reply to the agricultural challenge from the West in its land-grant college promotions. The war had taught many of the cities of the Commonwealth that their future lay in industrial development rather than in a dependence upon its farm productions; the drift of agriculture was definitely away from the East. If the coastal States must henceforth make it a practice to supply the farming regions with manufactured goods, supremacy along this line must be won and retained, skilled technicians and leaders must be trained. Worcester Polytechnic Institute was one of the first recognitions of the industrial-service spirit in education, and helped to make history in this departure from the general trend of higher education.

The founders of the institute were John Boynton, Ichabod Washburn, Stephen Salisbury II, and David Whitcomb, aided by Dr. Seth Sweetser and Milton P. Higgins. Only one was a college graduate, and all but two were born on farms. All save three were mechanically inclined, and practically all of them, except Dr. Sweetser were successful manufacturers and financiers, as has been shown in the chapter on Industries, in this work. John Boynton, on May 1, 1865, gave anonymously $100,000 "for the service of the youth of Worcester County." It was hardly the time to launch any educational program in view of the Civil War and financial depression. Ichabod Washburn had realized this, and had put aside his project for a school where ambitious apprentices could be trained in industrial science. When David Whitcomb came to Dr. Sweetser, then the pastor of the Calvinist Church, with the money and the proposal of Boynton, he was impressed with the opportunity it gave him to propose a scheme he had been revolving in his mind for years. Diplomatically he persuaded Washburn to blend his idea with the Boynton project and fund. Ichabod Washburn not only gave up his pet idea but agreed to build the Washburn shops and contribute $50,000 towards their endowment. Stephen Salisbury is credited with doing more

than any other one man to bring the Polytechnic Institute to Worcester, although Whitcomb was the one who persuaded Boynton to establish a school in Worcester rather than in New Hampshire, his native State, or to endow an academy in Templeton. Salisbury gave the five and a half acres on the hill where Boynton Hall and the Washburn shops have stood for more than six decades, and besides donated $22,000 for buildings, and $60,000 to the endowment fund.

The Polytechnic was opened in 1868, very generously equipped under the name, The Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science. This name was retained until 1887, when the present title was assumed. Incidentally it should be recorded that when, in 1917, a law was passed requiring all privately managed institutions receiving State aid, to accept full State control, the condition was not accepted by the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. The first president was Charles O. Thompson, Dartmouth graduate and chemical expert, who had spent five years in Europe fitting himself for his position. Homer T. Fuller, Ph. D., was chosen president in 1883; Dr. T. C. Mendenhall succeeded him in 1894; then followed Dr. Edmund A. Engler, in 1901, and Dr. Ira N. Hollis, in 1911. The number of students has varied with the times, from eighty in the 1870's to 564 in 1930. After the World War, which proved both the value of the institution, and its need of larger support, a campaign inaugurated for a two million dollar endowment was begun and completed. Most of the gifts were in small amounts.

The Worcester Polytechnic Institute owns fifty-three acres of land, the buildings being on an eminence on Salisbury Street. Boynton Hall, which has always been the Administration Building, houses the library and the Department of Engineering. The other departments have buildings of their own. The Washburn shops date from 1866 and the Washburn foundry was erected in 1902. The Stephen Salisbury Building is a four-story fireproof structure, wherein are the chemical and physical laboratories. The Department of Mechanical Engineering has a three-story building. The Electrical Engineering Department has a building which cost $250,000 to erect, and which is said to be "one of the finest buildings devoted solely to its use of any technical school or college." There are also laboratories, dormitories, power plant, and other necessary structures, the whole evidencing the prosperous state of the institution. The Athletic Field, opened in 1914, was founded by the Alumni. The gymnasium, which was dedicated in 1916, is another evidence of the strength of the Alumni Association. More than twenty-five hundred graduates of Worcester Polytechnic Institute have been granted their Bachelor of Science degrees, and large numbers have taken post-graduate degrees. The main courses provided are: Mechanical, Electrical, and Civil Engineering, Chemistry and General Science. One has but

to turn to *Who's Who in Engineering* to realize how many graduates of W. P. I. have been eminently successful in their professions.

One of the most interesting experiments in higher education along the lines of a university built upon restricted foundation is Clark University, of which Clark College is now a part. Both were started from gifts made by Jonas Gilman Clark who, in 1887, placed in the hands of a group of men one million dollars for this purpose, or rather for the establishment of the university. At the time this was the "largest single charitable gift ever made by a private person in New England and, with very few exceptions, the largest ever made by a private person in his lifetime anywhere in the world." The donor chose the head of this university as he would the highest official in his business, and that choice fell upon Granville Stanley Hall. G. Stanley Hall was sent on an eight months' tour of Europe "to see everything and every institution possible, collect building plans, budgets, and administration methods of every kind." Dr. Hall came back filled with the ambition to create in Worcester, "a university without an undergraduate department, one in which all the resources of the plant, and all the energies of the staff should be devoted exclusively to university purposes." More definitely, G. Stanley Hall desired to develop a school of like eminence in the fields of physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, anthropology and psychology, to the universities from which he had graduated, Harvard and Johns Hopkins. He persuaded Jonas Clark to make the university of this limited type. He also gathered together a remarkable faculty of young men, such as Nef in chemistry, Mall in anatomy, Story and Taber in mathematics, and Michelson and Webster in physics. The president was best known for his professional work in psychology, philosophy and education—subjects which he taught.

Of the million dollar gift, $300,000 was set aside for plant and equipment; $100,000 as a library fund; and $600,000 as an endowment fund. On October 2, 1889, the first university building opened its doors to students, and the notables attending the opening exercises offered congratulations and prophesied great things for the unique institution. All went well for a few years, but for 1893-94 only one-fourth of the amount of money that had been available for carrying on the work of Clark University previously was in the treasury. According to Dr. Hall, "In the seven years that followed down to the founder's death in 1900, we had for all purposes only less than $30,000." From the very first, with inadequate means at his command, the doctor had to hold his faculty against the very potent attractions of the wealthy young University of Chicago, to make Clark University live within its small income, and to please the founder. It is indicative of the many-sided abilities of Dr. Hall that he accomplished all these in good measure,

and that he held the loyalty of his faculty for the twenty-one years, from 1892, while he was its head.

The bequests of Mr. Clark brought the total of his benefactions up to $4,000,000. A codicil to his will charged the trustees of the university to found "a Collegiate Department where young men, who have graduated from high schools and other preparatory schools and have not the means to enable them to attend universities where the expenses are large, may obtain at a moderate cost and in a three-year course a practical education which shall fit them for useful citizenship and their work in life." Some of the unusual features of the Clark College program were: its admission of students upon trial instead of scholastic examinations, a three-year course of study instead of four, group system of studies, close personal supervision of student activities, and the prohibition of intercollegiate athletics. In 1902 Colonel Carroll D. Wright, former United States Commissioner of Labor, was called to the presidency of the college. Upon his death in 1909, he was succeeded by the last separate president of the school, Dr. Edmund C. Sanford.

Turning once more to the university: The main building was completed in 1889, and the chemical laboratory a year later. In 1900 the Department of Chemistry was reopened, and the departments of History, Economics and Philosophy added. The Library Building was finished in 1904, but several additions have been made to the structure, and the library itself is one of the most complete within the limits of its purpose in America. In 1914, after a quarter of a century of remarkable achievements, Dr. Hall could say in all accuracy:

> Compared with the size of our faculty, the number of departments or our annual budget, we have fitted more men for higher degrees; seen more of them in academic chairs, where they are found in all the leading institutions of the land, including some dozen of presidencies, first and last; published more original contributions which seek to add to the sum of the world's knowledge; have a larger proportion of members of our faculty starred as of the first rank in Cattell's census of the competent; has closer personal and often daily contact with students and given more individual help outside of classes; had more academic freedom . . . . ; had more autonomy in our departments, each of which is a law to itself; had less rules and formalities of every kind; had less drudgery of marks and faculty rulings; had a president who was less a president and more a teacher, good or bad; spent less time in devising ways and means of seeking contributions from our friends here; advertised less, and avoided all publicity more . . . . ; in these respects we exceed any of the other twenty institutions of the Association of American Universities.

Either because the example of Clark University spurred other institutions to an expansion of their curricula, or as a result of natural evolution in

education, the larger and wealthier universities began to enlarge many of their graduate departments. Clark, without an addition to its endowment fund in twenty years, could not keep the pace it had set. By 1920 Clark had come to the forks of the highway and must choose between the abandonment of its graduate work, or the adoption of graduate research in lines not then furnished by other institutions. The latter fork was taken. Presidents Dr. Hall of the University, and Dr. Sanford of the College, resigned, and the two institutions were merged under the presidency of Dr. Wallace A. Atwood of Harvard University. G. Stanley Hall served as president emeritus until his death in April, 1924. Dr. Atwood proceeded to make the university the first graduate school of geography in the United States and considerably enlarged the departments of Psychology, Economics, History, and International Relations, with the relative elimination or restriction of other departments. Professor Atwood sacrificed an established position in the world of education to reorganize a fast failing institution, and especially to create a new university subject—geography. Dr. Sanford has written:

> Geography as a university subject means, of course, something far different from the geography that most of us studied in grammar school—nothing less, in fact, than the whole circuit of man's relation to and dependence on the world in which he lives. It was, therefore, with an express commission to create such a Graduate School of Geography, and with a definite pledge of adequate financial and other support in so doing, the trustees invited Dr. Atwood to undertake his present duties.

CHAPTER L

Fraternal Orders

There is something about Worcester County and its people that inspires the multiplication and vigorous growth of fraternal organizations. Few sections of like population have more of these societies, and while the most of them are grouped in cities and larger towns, the rural parts still have many, although modern life and particularly the automobile have greatly reduced the number to the strengthening of those in the larger places. The development of the fraternal order in Worcester came mainly during the last century, or more nearly the last seven or eight decades, although Masonic history goes back to 1793. The early settlers had neither need nor leisure for the lodge; the town church and tavern, often coeval in their appearance upon the stage of development, furnished sufficient outlet for social instincts and activities. Both the church and the tavern were meeting places for those who had put in hard days fighting for a livelihood. There was nowhere else to go when one wearied of the crowded cabin or the none too palatial house. A cynic has said that one could trace the origin of fraternities in New England to the desire to get away from home and family and religion, and points out that most of the first organizations, social, political and fraternal, were born in taverns, and used the "publicks" as lodge rooms. The oldest of the modern fraternities dated mostly from the eighteenth century; and these were fathered, and often mothered, by the old tavern which also supplied them with a home. Nor must this ancestry of the Masons, the Odd Fellows and a few others, be sneered at, for the early caravanseries were, second only to the church, the most important, most educative, except the schools, and the most patriotic institutions of their day.

Free Masonry was the first of fraternal movements to become rooted in America. It was introduced from England, where in 1617 the first lodge was instituted. The Grand Lodge, in Great Britain, came into existence a century later, and until 1724 only one degree had become established. Boston, as the

MASONIC HOME AND HOSPITAL, CHARLTON

Photo by Paul W. Savage

seat of government when the Massachusetts Colony was made a province, was the home of royal appointees as governors and their retinues who brought with them their own social habits and customs. Societies and clubs were formed in which they were joined by residents who had sufficient wealth and leisure. The first heard of Free Masonry in our country is just prior to 1730, the year in which His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Masons of England, deputed on June 5, 1730, Brother Daniel Coxe, a justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, as the "Provincial Grand Master of the Province of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in America." There seems to have been a lodge meeting irregularly in Philadelphia before the appointment of Brother Coxe. Franklin referred in his Pennsylvania *Gazette,* of December 8, 1730, to the "several lodges of Free Masons erected in this Province." Coxe, supposedly, issued to the St. John's Lodge of Philadelphia a charter some time before 1733. The St. John's of Boston very surely was chartered in 1733, becoming the center of the organization in New England. There was but little growth made by these early lodges, possibly because their purpose was misunderstood, and the organization frowned upon both here and abroad; neither was the time at hand when fraternal organizations were greatly needed in the community. During the Revolution, there were many traveling lodges formed, and prior to this period, at least forty-nine charters had been granted between 1746 and 1764 to lodges with British troops, and some of the Americans, who were stationed in various parts of the country. Masonry, at this time, almost became exclusively a military order. After the Revolution, members of these military lodges sought to revive the order which had been greatly reduced in numbers by the breaking up of the Colonial troops and the return of the British soldiers to their homes. There seem to have been few lodges established in Massachusetts until after the government of the State had been perfected, and the loosely connected Colonies or states had been joined into the United States of America. Evidently to celebrate these events, lodges sprang up in many sections of New England, and from 1795 to 1800 marks the beginning of many of the fraternities.

Masonic history in Massachusetts, as indicated, begins with St. John's Lodge, of Boston, when Henry Price, claiming authority from the Grand Lodge of England, as Provincial Grand Master of New England, opened a Provincial Grand Lodge, July 30, 1733. St. John's held sway over Masonry in New England until about 1752, when St. Andrew's Lodge was formed without warrant or charter, a not unusual procedure in that day. It received a charter, in 1760, from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which widened the breach its organization had caused. In 1769 St. Andrew's united with several

military lodges to form the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, with the noted Joseph Warren as "Grand Master of Massachusetts, in Boston, New England, and Within One Hundred Miles of the Same." Paul Revere later was Grand Master. The death of Warren on Bunker Hill, led to the declaration of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge of its independency and sovereignty, thus becoming the first Independent Grand Lodge of Masons in America. In 1792 the Grand Lodge for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was formed by the union of St. John's and the Massachusetts Grand lodges, and since that time the history of the craft in the State has been marked by little dissension.

The history of fraternal orders in Worcester County covers so many and such a variety of organizations, that little more than the naming of fraternities in the cities and some of the larger towns will be attempted, with occasional brief explanations of the origin and purposes of these orders. If space has been given to Masonry it is mainly because this is the oldest of the fraternal orders and its annals illustrate the origin and development of other lodges in this part of Massachusetts. The older histories of Worcester, city and county, Nutt's *History of Worcester* (1919), and Crane's *History of Worcester County* (1924), have devoted many pages to this subject, especially Charles Nutt. Crane will be used as the basis of this chapter.

The Morning Star Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, was organized on March 11, 1793, with Isaiah Thomas as Worshipful Master. It soon became a factor in civic activities, Masonic rites being observed at many civic ceremonies. The Masonic Hall was at No. 19 Pearl Street for almost fifty years, whence it moved to the Masonic Temple on Ionic Avenue. The second Masonic body to be organized in Worcester was Montacute Lodge, which was warranted on June 9, 1859, with William A. Smith as Worshipful Master. Other lodges are the Athelstan Lodge, chartered June 13, 1866, with Henry Goddard, Worshipful Master, and Quinsigamond Lodge, warranted September 15, 1871, with Henry C. Wadsworth as Worshipful Master. Royal Arch Masonry in Worcester dates from October 24, 1824, when a charter was granted to Isaiah Thomas and thirteen other Masons to institute a Royal Arch chapter in Worcester, to take rank from September 18, 1823. The first meeting was held on November 26, 1823, when the original officers of Worcester Chapter were inducted. They were headed by Benjamin Chapin, as High Priest. Place of meetings was the Healy Hall. The Anti-Masonic period, from 1827 until probably the end of the next decade, was a trying one for all Masonic bodies throughout the country, and probably Worcester lodges were dormant, or functioned weakly, during that period. The chapter held no meetings between October 4, 1827, and February 12, 1846, when petition for reorganization was signed by sixteen men. On March 10, 1846,

a new charter was granted, ranking from September 18, 1823, and appointing Albert Case as High Priest. First meeting was held in Dr. John Green's hall, No. 244 Main Street, but for ten years, from October, 1846, Dr. B. F. Heywood's hall, at No. 267 Main Street was used. The Masonic Hall was in the Post Office Building from June 14, 1867, until September, 1914, when the Masonic Temple was ready for use. The original charter of 1824 was revoked by the Grand Chapter in 1840, but was restored eventually. It was lost until 1865, during which time the organization functioned under a charter of 1846, and then, until 1915, under both charters, the 1846 charter being cancelled at that time. Eureka Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, was granted dispensation in 1870, upon petition of forty-four Royal Arch Masons of Worcester. Thomas E. St. John was appointed High Priest. The first regular convocation was held on December 29, 1870, in Masonic Hall on Pearl Street. The charter from the Grand Chapter bears date of May 25, 1871. The first by-laws were adopted two days earlier. Henry H. Flint was Tyler of the chapter for forty years, 1874-1914.

Hiram Council, Royal and Select Masters, held its first meeting, under warrant, on October 25, 1825, in Wilkinsonville Hall in Sutton, and was chartered December 13, 1826, with Walton Felch as Thrice Illustrious Master. The council became submerged in the Anti-Masonic storm, and its charter and properties were supposedly stolen. There were no meetings between August, 1828, and March, 1858, but then, with resumption of meetings, their meeting place was changed from Sutton to Worcester. On May 6, 1858, the charter was restored, and the stolen properties were restored a few years later. For forty-seven years, from 1867, the meetings of the council were held in Masonic Hall, removal to the Masonic Temple taking place in 1914.

The Worcester County Commandery of Knights Templar was constituted in the Abbott Hotel at Holden, on December 17, 1824, under dispensation. Charter was received June 16, 1825. In 1831 the Encampment removed to Worcester, and held meetings until 1833, from which time for a decade it was unable to battle against the Anti-Masonic movement. Meetings were resumed, in Sutton, in January, 1845, and in Worcester later in that year. From 1867 until 1914 the Masonic Hall was used, but Masonic Temple has since been headquarters of the Commandery, which changed to that status by order of the General Grand Encampment. The one hundredth anniversary was celebrated in 1925.

Worcester Lodge of Perfection, Scottish Rite Masons, was instituted in 1863, with Rev. John W. Dadmun as Thrice Potent Master. Goddard Council, Princes of Jerusalem, was chartered in 1870, with Henry G. Willson as Sovereign Prince. The Lawrence Chapter of Rose Croix was chartered in

1870, with Rev. Thomas E. St. John as Most Worshipful Master. The Aletheia Grotto, No. 13, Mystic Order of Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm, was organized in March, 1904, by Fred A. Blake and others. Charles W. Mann, Grand Monarch, presided at the meeting on April 13, 1904, when Fred A. Blake was inducted as Monarch of the local body. There were eighty-three charter members.

The Stella Chapter, No. 3, Order of the Eastern Star, began its activities in 1869, and chartered on January 11, 1871. There were eight charter members. Adelia L. Pond became the first Worshipful Matron, and the first regular meeting was held on January 4, 1871. Stella Chapter is next to the oldest (Springfield) in the State, and for many years has had the largest membership. The first Grand Patron was Daniel Seagrave.

Movement to build a Masonic Temple gathered force in 1910, and a Building Committee headed by Herbert P. Bagley carried through ways and means so successfully that on September 3, 1914, the Masonic Temple, which "for architectural beauty stands first among the beautiful buildings of the city" was dedicated. The Temple, which is on Ionic Avenue, has since been the headquarters of almost all Masonic labor in Worcester since that time. Masonic organized charities of general character have centered in the Worcester Masonic Charity and Educational Association for almost three decades. This association was formed on April 4, 1896, with Henry Brannan as president. Its scope has been wide and substantial.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows—In point of origin, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was second only to Masonry, of the larger orders, to become established in America. It is a direct descendant of a lodge of the order founded in Manchester, England, in 1812, whose main purpose as stated in its charter was, "to render assistance to every brother who may apply through sickness, distress or otherwise, if he be well attached to the Queen and government, and faithful to the order." The organization in the United States is independent of the English society. The Grand Lodge of the United States, which is composed of Past Noble Grands of the subordinate bodies, has the sole jurisdiction over the lodges in this country. The objects of the American organization were the "relief of the brethren, the interment of the dead and the care of their widows and orphans." To these purposes, in later years, were added "the giving of unsectarian religious instruction and the elevation of human character." The first lodge in America was the Washington Number 1, instituted in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1820. Since then the number of orders in this country has multiplied rapidly and there are about 50,000 members in Massachusetts alone.

Blackstone Lodge of Odd Fellows came into existence in 1845, and Clinton Lodge in 1846, but Worcester seems to have been the first in the county to organize. Quinsigamond Lodge, No. 43, it is said, owes its inception to Joseph W. Coburn, of Boston. Deputation from the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows came to Worcester on May 1, 1844, and then instituted Quinsigamond Lodge, No. 43, installing James Murray as the first Noble Grand. The ceremonies were conducted in Masonic Hall. The lodge reported a strength of twenty-six members in 1844, but since that time about 2,200 members have been initiated or admitted, and cards in clearance have been granted to members to assist in forming lodges in Milford, Grafton, Westborough, Barre, West Boylston, Spencer, North Brookfield, and other places in Worcester County. The other organizations of Odd Fellows in the city are as follows: Worcester Lodge, No. 56, which was chartered on February 6, 1845, and had a strength of sixty-five members in first year, but suffered a dormant period from 1854 to 1870, when another charter was granted, with Sam V. Stone as Noble Grand; Central Lodge, which was instituted September 17, 1874, with seven charter members, and Nathan Taylor as Noble Grand; Ridgely Lodge, No. 112, instituted September 19, 1882, with twenty-three charter members, and which grew to be "one of the best lodges in Massachusetts"; Thule Lodge, instituted May 25, 1900, with Sven E. Hansen as Noble Grand; Wachusett Encampment, No. 10, instituted April 30, 1845, but subsequently lapsed, making reinstatement on October 20, 1869, necessary; Mount Vernon Encampment, instituted September 27, 1877; Naomi Rebekah Lodge, instituted May 9, 1872; Queen Esther Lodge, on February 3, 1881; Utopia Lodge, on October 16, 1891; and Idun Rebekah Lodge, on March 31, 1905. The Canton of Worcester, Patriarchs Militant, was instituted on December 12, 1885, with William F. Bancroft as Commandant. Until 1906 the body was known officially as Grand Canton Worcester, No. 3. Other Odd Fellows lodges of Worcester include the Manchester Unity Loyal Bay State Lodge, No. 6793, instituted in 1886; Loyal Harmony Lodge; Loyal Hawthorne Lodge, No. 62; North Star Lodge, No. 1372, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows; Household of Ruth, No. 27, instituted in 1874.

The Odd Fellows Building, on Main Street, was erected in 1906, at a cost of about $110,000. Corner stone was laid on January 6, 1906, and the building was dedicated on November 8, 1906. It was said that there was no finer Odd Fellows building in the State. The Odd Fellows Home, an institution for the whole of the State, was erected in Worcester by the Grand Lodge. A site of eleven acres was donated by Thomas H. Dodge, of Worcester, in 1889, the corner stone was laid October 8, 1890; and the first building dedicated June 22, 1892. In 1903 another building of equal size was erected, giving the Grand Lodge accommodation for one hundred and ten persons.

Improved Order of Red Men—Certain fraternal organizations, although less than a hundred years old in their modern form, are of ancient origin. Such a one is the Improved Order of Red Men which dates back to a secret Revolutionary society known as the Sons of Liberty founded in 1764. Descending through the Tamina of from 1771 to 1810, it was reorganized as the Red Men at Philadelphia in 1813. It was mainly political and, as such, not fitted to survive. In 1833 at Baltimore, Maryland, it was again reorganized with politics eliminated with the motto "Freedom, Friendship and Charity." The period from 1880 to 1895 marked its greatest growth; it now having a membership in this country of half a million. The Red Men have a general interest in that they have tried in their title, officers and ceremonials to preserve many of the names and ideas of the aboriginal American. The endeavor is also made to perpetuate the history and traditions of the Indian. The degree of Pocahontas is the feminine section of the order.

Quinsigamond Tribe, No. 7, which was chartered on December 11, 1880, was the first tribe of Red Men instituted in Worcester. Iroquois Tribe, No. 8, was organized on February 9, 1883; Massasoit Tribe, No. 6, was chartered on April 28, 1887; Cherokee Tribe was organized by Frank Ensworth, on February 28, 1889; Pakachoag Tribe, No. 18, came into existence on May 20, 1909; Sagatobscot Tribe, No. 59, on May 25, 1911; and Mishe Mokwa Tribe, No. 70, on June 21, 1912. Colonel Timothy Bigelow Company, No. 2, Red Men's League, was organized on June 28, 1911, by Iroquois Tribe.

The Councils of the Degree of Pocahontas functioning in Worcester are: Weetamoe, No. 3, instituted on March 25, 1887, with Hannah Whitten as Prophetess; the Osceola Council, No. 4, organized March 31, 1900, with Jennie L. Spooner, as Prophetess; Mosag Council, No. 28, chartered October 28, 1911; Miscoe Council, No. 35, instituted June 12, 1912.

Knights of Pythias—The Knights of Pythias, so-called from the famous friendship of Damon for Pythias, instituted the first lodge, the Washington No. 1, at the National Capital, February 19, 1864, under the leadership of Justus Henry Rathbone. The official declaration was for "toleration in religion, obedience in law, and loyalty in government." It was several years before the Knights secured a place in Massachusetts, one of the first lodges being that of Lowell, instituted in 1869.

The lodges of the Knights of Pythias in Worcester are as follows: Blake Lodge, No. 48, instituted in 1871; Damascus Lodge, No. 50, instituted in same year; Regulus Lodge, No. 71; the Worcester Lodge, No. 106, instituted January 1, 1903; Freedom Lodge, No. 121, instituted in 1895; Rathbone Lodge, No. 171, instituted March 3, 1909. Section 3810, Insurance Depart-

ment, was organized in 1878. Other units are the Bay State Company, No. 3, Uniformed Rank; Worcester Company, No. 7, Uniformed Rank; Daughters of Regulus, organized in 1887; Alpha Temple, No. 5, Worcester Temple, No. 25, and Blake Temple, No. 58, Pythian Sisters. Pythian charities center in the Worcester Knights of Pythias Charitable and Educational Association, which was organized on June 30, 1914, by members of the several Worcester lodges, with Charles E. Lockwood as president. The Francis H. Dewey property, at 114 Main Street, was purchased on August 31, 1914.

Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks was formed in New York City from the "Jolly Corks," a convivial fraternity. The first Grand Lodge was instituted in 1871, with the power to organize local lodges in cities of 5,000 inhabitants or over. Boston had the first Grand Lodge of the fraternity. The lodge has always been eager to secure a home building in the city in which they have been formed, and the total values of its property in the United States, approaches $12,000,000; the membership numbers about 1,000,000. The first lodge of Elks in Worcester, No. 243, received its charter in 1892 and meets at the Elks' Home, as does the Elks Ladies' Association. Quinsigamond Lodge, No. 173, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, is of more modern origin.

Knights of Columbus—Although the Knights of Columbus is primarily a fraternal benefit society, from its inception it has fostered and exercised the broader spirit of fraternity which signalizes the history of the order as a record of service to the Catholic Hierarchy, to the country, and to our fellowmen. It was one of the great welfare agencies of the World War, commended by the American Government and the pope. The society was first chartered by the State of Connecticut, on March 29, 1882. The first Worcester Council of the Knights of Columbus, was initiated in February, 1894, under the name Alhambra Council, with Mark F. Cosgrove as the first Grand Knight. In 1914 the Council acquired the building at No. 10 Elm Street vacated by the Young Men's Christian Association, and what was formerly Association Hall has since been Alhambra Hall. There are also Columbus Hall and Benedict Hall on other floors of the same building. The realty is held by the Knights of Columbus Religious, Educational and Benevolent Association, which was organized primarily for charitable purposes, with John F. McGrath as first president. The Knights of Columbus headquarters are also used by other Catholic organizations: by the Daughters of Isabella; by the St. Ann's and St. Paul's branches of the Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association; and by Court McCafferty, Catholic Foresters.

Other "Knights"—The word "Knight" seems to have proven attractive to the founders of many of the older orders, as witness the Knights of Malta, dating from 1873, and represented in Worcester by U. S. Grant Commandery, No. 150, Ancient and Illustrious Knights of Malta, organized in 1894; Gustavus Adolphus Commandery, No. 439; Beulah Sisterhood, No. 4, Dames of Malta, founded in 1896. Knights of the Golden Eagle, instituted in Baltimore, in 1873, whose practices are based on the history of the Crusaders. Pearl Lodge, No. 123, of the Knights and Ladies of Honor, was established in Worcester, in 1878.

Foresters of America: Knights of Sherwood Forest, Worcester Conclave, No. 91; Court City of Worcester, No. 28; Court Quinsigamond, No. 60, organized 1891; Court Heart of the Commonwealth, No. 103, organized 1895; Court Frederick B. Bogan, No. 151. Companions of the Forest: Worcester Circle, No. 147; Adele Circle, No. 633, organized 1901; Bancroft Circle, No. 699, organized January 30, 1903.

Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters: Worcester Court, No. 59; McCafferty Court, No. 100; Holy Cross Court; Father Fitton Court; Court Saint Loretta, No. 124; Court Notre Dame, No. 170.

Sons of St. George: Prince Consort Lodge, No. 29, organized in 1872, incorporated in 1882; Uniform of Sir Knights, York Commandery, founded 1890.

United Order of Golden Cross: Worcester Commandery, No. 88, instituted 1880; Castle Commandery, No. 546, instituted August 28, 1893.

United American Mechanics—There is a large group of fraternities which seek to enlighten and elevate our citizenry, create better social conditions and to help its membership in time of sickness and death, but are misunderstood because they have chosen names suggestive of trade unions. Such are the Order of the United American Mechanics, with Central Council, No. 50, established in 1892; Junior United American Mechanics, Industry Council, No. 17, organized in 1889; Junior Social Circle; Worcester Lodge, No. 56, Ancient Order of United Workmen, started in 1885—the Ancient Order claims to be the first of the "benefit" societies in the United States. The Modern Woodmen of America, claim to be "the largest fraternal beneficiary society in the world."

The Grange—"The Grange" is the short and familiar term of the State and subordinate organizations of the Patrons of Husbandry, a national association of agriculturists, founded November 15, 1867, or according to some authorities, on December 4, 1866. The society originated in the depressed condition of agriculture following the Civil War, and frankly

designed to help the farming classes. Its purposes and work have since extended far beyond the original intent. As notable in agriculture as in manufacturing, the county of Worcester has been a stronghold of the order in Massachusetts. Among the Granges are: Worcester Grange, No. 22, organized December 30, 1872, with nineteen charter members. Present membership is about 500; Worcester Central Pomona Grange, No. 7, organized at Auburn, April 1, 1880, with Joseph Chamberlain, of Worcester, as Master. There were six subordinate granges, but on February 21, 1894, it was deemed advisable to change from a district to a Pomona Grange status. A charter was secured and first meeting of Worcester Central Pomona Grange, No. 7, was held at Oxford on April 18, 1894, with subordinate granges at Auburn, Douglas, Grafton, Holden, Millbury, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Sutton, Upton, Worcester. There are now fourteen subordinate granges, those named above, and Northbridge, Paxton, Rutland, and Uxbridge granges.

Other Orders—Worcester Lodge, No. 608, Loyal Order of Moose, was founded in 1910; the Maccabees of Worcester in 1897; the United Order of the Golden Star has the Charles Sterne Commandery, No. 20, of Worcester; Worcester Aerie, No. 203, Fraternal Order of Eagles; Fraternal Order of Orioles; Worcester Conclave, No. 332, organized 1895, and Benchley Conclave, No. 627, organized in 1899, were merged in Worcester-Benchley Conclave, No. 332, of the Improved Order of Heptasophs, organized in 1916; another body of same order is Lewis Conclave; Rochelle Lodge, No. 21, Independent Companions of America, was organized in 1909; Viking Council of Independent Order of Mystic Brothers, was organized in 1881, and reorganized in 1889; the Worcester Lodge, No. 47, Fraternal Order of Fraternal Helpers, instituted 1902; Worcester Herd, No. 8, Benevolent Order of Buffaloes, chartered 1912; the Aurora Society, organized in 1909; New England Order of Protection: Worcester Lodge, No. 89, organized in 1889; Wachusett Lodge, No. 341, organized in 1900; Keystone Lodge, No. 124. Loyal Legion: Union Commandery, No. 2. Daughters of Liberty: Fidelity Council, No. 4, organized in 1891; Unity Council, No. 30, instituted 1894. Royal Arcanum: Worcester Council, No. 12, organized in 1877; Conquest Council, No. 915, organized July 20, 1885, with Charles R. Johnson as regent. United Order Independent Odd Ladies: Perseverance Lodge, No. 8, instituted in 1895; Hope Lodge, No. 11, organized 1888; Ruth Lodge, No. 16; Summit Lodge, No. 38, instituted in 1895.

The fraternal annals of the towns of the county are meagre, for although some of them, such as Lancaster, Sutton, Mendon, and Brookfield, were larger than Worcester when it was chosen the shire town, their entities have

been broken up, and to a large extent the older lodges have faded or moved elsewhere, since the natural trend of such organizations is toward the cities and larger towns. Lancaster had a lodge of the Masons in 1801, which, as we will see, became the first of its kind in another place.

Fitchburg has a fraternal record similar to Worcester's, for it has been the tendency in the formation of social organizations that in all large centers of population each kind is established at about the same time and increase in numbers and strength almost simultaneously. The lodges of the city are: Aurora Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, instituted at Leominster, June 9, 1801, and removed to Fitchburg March 17, 1845; the Thomas Royal Arch Chapter of Masons, instituted at Princeton December 21, 1821, and removed to Fitchburg November 13, 1847; the Jerusalem Commandery, No. 19, Knights Templar, instituted October 13, 1865; the Lady Emma Chapter, No. 27, Order of Eastern Star. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows are as follows: Mt. Rollstone Lodge, No. 98, instituted December 12, 1845; Apollo Lodge, No. 205; King David's Encampment, No. 42, instituted October 18, 1870; Grand Canton Hebron, No. 11, Patriarchs Militant, instituted March 4, 1886; Pearl Hill Rebekah Lodge, No. 47; E. Victoria Morse Rebekah Lodge, No. 143; Loyal Progressive Lodge, No. 7203, M. U.; Loyal Fitchburg Lodge, No. 7705, M. U. Improved Order of Red Men-Nashua Tribe, No. 37, was instituted on February 23, 1887; Whaloma Council, No. 16, Degree of Pocohontas. Alpine Lodge, No. 35, Knights of Pythias, was instituted on March 12, 1879. The other Pythian bodies are: Alpine Temple, No. 86, and Pythian Sisters of Alpine Temple, No. 86. Ancient Order of Hibernians, Division No. 2, organized in June, 1869; Division No. 26, meets in West Fitchburg; Rollstone Lodge, No. 107, Ancient Order United Workmen; Nashua Lodge, No. 152, Ancient Order of United Workmen; City of Fitchburg Court, No. 39, Foresters of America; Fitchburg Circle, No. 697, Companions of the Forest; Court Montcalm, No. 30, Franco-American Foresters; Pinehurst Court, No. 167, Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters; German Order of Harugari, Rollstone Lodge, No. 573, and Marienloge, No. 42; Fitchburg Nest, and Ladies' Nest, Order of Owls; Banner Lodge, No. 27, Order of Vasa; Freja Lodge, No. 50, Order of Vasa.

There are several organizations of the Union Saint Jean-Baptiste d'Amerique: Conseil Notre Dame; Ligue du Sacre Coeur de Jesus Conseil, No. 54; Conseil Yonville, No. 77; Conseil Langlois, No. 93; Conseil St. Francois, No. 121. Fitchburg Lodge, No. 847, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, is a strong organization, as is Fitchburg Council, No. 99, of the Knights of Columbus. The Fitchburg Aerie, No. 448, of the Fraternal Order of Eagles; the Knights of Malta is represented by Palestine Commandery, No. 176; the Loyal Order of Moose, by Fitchburg Lodge, No. 1388. Other

fraternal bodies are: Independent Companions of America, No. 25, and New England Order of Protection, Watatic Lodge, No. 31; Order of Odd Ladies, Puritan Lodge, No. 39; Order of Scottish Clans, Clan Leslie, No. 132; Order of Sons of St. George, Shakespeare Lodge, No. 121; Ordine Figlia d'Italia, Loggia Cristoforo Colombo, No. 169; Panum Maja, No. 24; Royal Arcanum, Fitchburg Council, No. 777; United Order of Golden Cross, Progressive Commandery, No. 991; Fitchburg Grange, No. 186, Patrons of Husbandry.

Leominster lodges of the Masons, Odd Fellows and Hibernians are a half-century or more old. Included among its fraternal orders are: Ancient Order of Hibernians, United Workmen, Elks, Chevaliers de Lafayette, Foresters of America, Franco-American Foresters, Eagles, Red Men, Knights of Columbus, Knights of Pythias, Ladies of the Golden Eagle, Loyal Order of Moose, L'Union St. Jean Baptiste d'Amerique, Masonic bodies, Grange, Royal Arcanum, and Odd Fellows. The patriotic orders include the Daughters of American Revolution, Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of Veterans, Daughters of Veterans, Spanish War Veterans, American Legion. There are several Italian organizations: The Loggia Regioni d'Italia, Loggia Figli d'Italia, Societa Francesco Saladini, Societa Santa Maria del Campo d'Alvito, Societa Principessa Yolanda, and Italian-American Naturalization Club. The Sons of Italy, Regioni d'Italia, No. 185, on December 31, 1923, dedicated their new building, Lincoln Hall, built at a cost of $40,000.

Westborough has the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Divisions Nos. 20 and 23; Order United American Workmen, Westboro Lodge, No. 91; Foresters of America, Court Westboro; Knights of Columbus, Council No. 85; Masonic, Siloam Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons; Order Eastern Star, Bethany Chapter, No. 13; Hockamocko Lodge, No. 79, of Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Laurel Rebekah Lodge, No. 41; Patrons of Husbandry, Westborough Grange, No. 11; Royal Arcanum, Parkman Council, No. 297.

In *Uxbridge* are the Ancient Order United Workmen, Waucantuck Lodge, No. 191; Ancient Order of Hibernians, Wheelockville; Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Uxbridge Lodge, No. 120; Knights of Columbus, Council, No. 1620; Masonic, Solomon's Temple Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons; Foresters of America, Court Purity, No. 40; Patrons of Husbandry, Uxbridge Grange, No. 200; Daughters of Isabella.

Fraternal lodges were established in *Princeton,* as in other towns that need not be named, a century ago, but the most of these gave up their charters. The town has still the Ancient Order of United Workmen, instituted on June 12, 1890; the Princeton Farmers' Club, dating from 1860, and Princeton Grange, No. 74, founded February 6, 1875.

Athol has many and ancient fraternal societies including: Athol Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, dating from 1803; Star Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, organized in 1864; the Union Chapter, Royal Arch, organized in 1866; the Harris Council, Royal and Select Masters; the Athol Commandery, Knights Templar; the Demolay; and the Themis Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star. The Odd Fellows lodges are: Tully Lodge, No. 136; Mt. Pleasant Encampment, No. 68; Canton Athol, No. 60, Patriarchs Militant; the Bamier Rebekah Lodge, No. 89; the Manchester Unity, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Miller's River Lodge, No. 7742; Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Sentinel Elm Lodge, No. 68. The Red Men bodies are: Pequoig Tribe, No. 100, and the Degree of Pocohantas, Collewandra Council, No. 69. The Pythian bodies are: Corinthian Lodge, No. 76, and Mystic Temple, No. 55. The Foresters of America, Court Athol, No. 66; Artisan Lodge, No. 86, American Order United Workmen; the Andreas Hofer Lodge, No. 601, D. O. H.; the local aerie of Fraternal Order of Eagles; Independent Order of Companions; L'Union St. Jean Baptiste d'Amerique, and there is a local commandery of the United Order of Golden Star, Summit Commandery, No. 49.

Lodges extant in *Blackstone* are: the Ancient Order of United Workmen, Blackstone Lodge, No. 46; the Blackstone River Lodge of Masons; and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Division No. 10. The Blackstone River Lodge of Odd Fellows, No. 106, was organized in 1846. The Blackstone River Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was organized under dispensation on January 1, 1856, and erected the Masonic Building on Main Street in 1870. On January 4, 1887, the East Blackstone Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, No. 137, of Massachusetts was organized with twenty-seven charter members.

Millbury by right of descent has one of the oldest Masonic lodges in the county, Olive Branch Lodge of Masons, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, which received its charter as early as September 14, 1797. Millbury was then, of course, part of Sutton, and the lodge comes into the records of both Sutton and Oxford. In 1816 it was seated at Sutton, and in 1860 was removed to Millbury. The first officers were Jonathan Learned, Master; D. Fiske, Senior Warden; I. Harris, Senior Deacon; J. Kingsbury, Junior Deacon; N. Whitman, Senior Steward; P. Butler, Junior Steward; William Robinson, Tyler. Tyrian Royal Arch Chapter of Masons was organized in 1874; Adah Chapter, No. 15, Order of the Eastern Star was chartered on April 28, 1884; Millbury Division, No. 9, of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, was formed in November, 1871; the Millbury Grange, No. 107, Patrons of Husbandry, came into being on February 9, 1883, with N. B. Chase as Master; Morning Star Lodge, No. 130, of the Independent Order of Odd

Fellows was instituted on September 25, 1883, with fourteen charter members, of whom D. M. Waterman was Noble Grand; Bethesda Lodge of the Daughters of Rebekah was instituted on November 8, 1888; Court Millbury, No. 79, Foresters of America, was instituted on August 9, 1892, with Thomas A. Dowd, as Chief Ranger; Fraternal Circle, No. 522, Companions of the Forest of America, which was organized on April 15, 1901; La Société des Artisans Canadiens Francais, No. 108, was organized September 8, 1902, with Charles J. E. Bazin as president; Cour Pothier, No. 44, de l'Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Americains, was formed in November, 1909; Wampus Tribe, No. 159, Improved Order of Red Men, was instituted at Millbury on November 28, 1904. The Ancient Order of United Workmen was organized December 9, 1887.

Winchendon has had an active Masonic body since 1866, the Artisan Lodge, and among later organizations are: North Star Chapter, organized in 1902, and the Eastern Star Lodge, instituted in 1909. The Odd Fellows are united in Manomonack Lodge, No. 121, which was instituted in 1847, and there is a Rebekah degree; Royal Arcanum, Naukeag Council, No. 1013; Division No. 29, Ancient Order of Hibernians was organized in September, 1881. Connected with this society is Division No. 10, Ladies' Auxiliary, which was organized in 1897. The Lodge of United Workmen was instituted in Winchendon, on March 22, 1887; Watatic Tribe, No. 85, Improved Order of Red Men, was instituted March 8, 1889. Associated with this Tribe is Loleta Council, No. 81, Degree of Pocohantas, which was instituted in March, 1908. The Winchendon Grange, No. 192, Patrons of Husbandry, was organized in July, 1891. Court Monadnock, No. 76, Foresters of America, was organized May 26, 1892. Court No. 110, of Winchendon, is an auxiliary branch of the society of "Artisans Canadiens-Francaise"; in September, 1901, the Winchendon Court was established. Conseil Laurier, No. 132, is a branch of "L'Union St. Jean Baptiste d'Amerique"; the Winchendon Council was formed with fifteen charter members, May 21, 1905. A Ladies' Auxiliary, Ste. Catherine, was formed on December 2, 1906. Benjamin Hill Lodge, No. 481, New England Order of Protection, was instituted December 15, 1908. The Knights of Columbus dates from December 12, 1909.

Numbered with the fraternal orders of *Webster* are: The Webster Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, which was organized September 10, 1859; the Benjamin Franklin Council, No. 333, Royal Arcanum, was organized on May 27, 1879; the St. Jean Baptiste Society, organized May 15, 1881; Webster Lodge of Independent Order of United Workmen, organized April 19, 1886; the Turn-Verein Vorwaertz Society, organized January 30, 1887; the Maanexit Lodge, No. 117, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, organized

March 11, 1887, and possessing its own hall; the Mt. Sinai Lodge, No. 90, Knights of Pythias, organized March 11, 1887; the Arbutus Rebekah Lodge, No. 100, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, organized May 11, 1891; the Chargoggagogg Tribe, No. 130, of Red Men, organized about 1890; Court Friendship, No. 59, Foresters of America, organized March 12, 1891; Division No. 11, Ancient Order of Hibernians, organized March 22, 1893; Ladies' Auxiliary of same order, organized May 20, 1893; Webster Council, No. 228, Knights of Columbus, organized May 5, 1897; the Franco-American Foresters, organized December, 1909; Lakeside Lodge, No. 1280, Loyal Order of Moose, organized in 1911; Genoa Circle, No. 57, Daughters of Italy; Nokomis Chapter, No. 128, Order of Eastern Star (Masonic), instituted October 14, 1909; Webster Aerie, No. 835, Fraternal Order of Eagles.

CHAPTER LI

The War With Spain

Within the last half-century, the United States has engaged in two "foreign wars," of which the War with Spain was the first. Both are rated as humanitarian, in so far as the purposes of our Nation were concerned, since neither one was waged for territory or wealth. Neither Spain nor America was ready for war in 1898 and this unpreparedness proved disproportionately costly in lives. If victory perched upon the stars and stripes, it was partly due to the fact that fortune was on its side. During a third of a century of peace the regular army had been reduced to a handful and the navy was a rusty and untried weapon. Spain had in Cuba six times the number of men the United States could muster in its whole enlisted force, and the Spaniards were armed with a modern gun using smokeless powder, while America had the ancient Springfield rifle burning a powder whose thick black smoke advertised to the enemy the location of the user. Spain had one hundred and thirty-seven vessels in service, as against eighty-six of the American service, and the strength of the Spaniards lay in cruisers, the type of ship most valuable. Foreign students of world affairs believed that America was embarking upon a conflict leading to inevitable failure. The strength on paper of the Spanish army proved to have only the strength of paper. The bold tactics of Admirals Dewey, Sampson, Schley and others, together with better gunnery, turned the tide in naval affairs.

Lacking a professional soldiery, the United States was compelled to depend upon its volunteers, chiefly the National Guard, and the Spanish-American War was the opportunity and the justification of the National Guard and its allied volunteer organizations. At the beginning of the war it was the plan of the Federal military authorities to call and use the militia of the coastal states to protect their sea borders, so certain was it that the navy of Spain would attack our coasts. It is now an almost forgotten incident of 1898 that many of the wealthy people of Boston took their valuables to

Worcester and deposited them in the vaults of that city's banks. Guard units from the interior states were to carry on the war in Cuba, but they proved numerically weak, badly equipped and poorly drilled. Because the militia of Massachusetts was better armed, better clothed, better trained, it was the first to be called and Massachusetts Volunteer Militia troops saw more service in the West Indies than those of any other State in the Union. Six regiments and a naval brigade were mustered in from Massachusetts. Of the first four regiments to answer the call of the President, all saw foreign service and three engaged in battle, a record not equalled by the troops of any other State.

The chronology of events in Massachusetts prior to the declaration of war reveal that in January, 1898, Governor Wolcott took measures to get the militia in readiness for field service in case the Cuban situation led to war. On April 15, the Legislature of the Commonwealth appropriated $500,000 for local defense and the equipment of her troops. All through this month the commanders of the various military organizations tendered the services of their troops and reported upon the readiness to move into camp. On April 23, President McKinley issued his first call for troops and asked Massachusetts for four regiments of infantry and four companies of heavy artillery. The four Massachusetts Volunteer Militia infantry regiments named to fill the quota were the 2d, Colonel Embury P. Clark; the 6th; the 8th; and the 9th, Colonel Fred B. Bogan, and these were assembled at South Framingham, in "Camp Dewey," early in May. The Worcester units were mainly concentrated in the 2d and 9th regiments. The Worcester Light Infantry, Company C, Captain Frank L. Allen; the Worcester City Guards, Company A, Captain Edwin G. Barrett; the Wellington Rifles, Company H, Captain Charles S. Holden; and the Heywood Guards, Company F, of Gardner, were organized as the 3d Battalion of the 2d Massachusetts Regiment. The Worcester Light Infantry, for the third time in its history left Worcester in answer to the call of the Nation. The other chief Worcester unit was the Emmet Guards, which became a company in the 9th Regiment. Worcester County individuals were to be found in probably every guard unit of the State, and in other states. The large volume, *Worcester in the Spanish War,* published in 1905, is worthy of the close attention of students of the part played by the city and county in this conflict.

The experiences of the 2d and 9th Regiments, Massachusetts United States Volunteers, reveal what the boys from Worcester had to meet and endure in the Spanish War.

The 2d Regiment was the smallest of the infantry regiments from the State, never being recruited to its full strength, and it served for the shortest period of them all. But this same 2d, in the brief six months that it was

FITCHBURG'S WAR MEMORIAL

By Herbert Adams, famous sculptor, a native of that city

under arms, suffered the greatest proportional losses of the six regiments representing the Commonwealth. More than ten per cent. of those who left Boston for the Cuban front lost their lives; at its best the 2d numbered 943, its dead numbered ninety-eight. It was among the first to enter Camp Dewey, May 3, and the days in Framingham were like those of the other units, days of reviews, the securing and inspection of equipment, medical examinations which led to the discarding of many, then the grand review by Governor Roger Wolcott, and entrainment for Lakeland, Florida, by rail. Many of the men still have pleasant recollections of the brief stay in "Camp Massachusetts," which name they gave to the pine knoll between the two Lakeland lakes; but the memories of Ybor City, just outside Tampa, are not quite so pleasant. On June 8, Florida was left behind. Cooped up on the vessels provided by the government for their transportation to Cuba, the regiment sweltered and cursed as they lay for days off the Cuban coast until landed on June 22 at Baiquiri. The battles for Santiago were on at this time, and the Second was marched to Siboney. The famous "Rough Riders" passed by their camp, and the sound of firing could be heard, but nothing as yet could be seen of the actual warfare. It was a case of stand by and wonder what would come next. The men had not long to wait, for they were soon on their way to El Caney and their first fight. In a battle that lasted from 7:00 a. m. to 5:00 in the evening, the 2d had its share. The regiment had the misfortune to be armed with the antiquated Springfield rifle, and compelled to burn black powder with its attendant smoke. With every volley, their position was outlined to the Spaniard, who paid them the closest attention every time the smoke showed where to shoot. For the safety of other troops, who were endangered by the fire brought upon the 2d, it was sent to a flank position, which while it may have helped others, did not benefit the troop. Many were wounded; had the Spanish been any sort of marksmen, the regiment would either have been withdrawn or annihilated. The 2d was under San Juan Hill the day of its capture, and under fire the most of the time. That night the regiment had its first cooked meal in forty-eight hours.

Meanwhile a heavy cannonading came to their ears from somewhere off shore, but they did not dream that Cervera's fleet had run out of the Santiago Harbor and had been completely destroyed. While those at home were celebrating this event, the 2d was digging trenches in the broiling sun or the tropical rain. From July 4 to July 10, it was dig, dig, dig with knife, tinned meat cans, bayonets and fingers, trenches that as soon as they were completed were occupied by some other set of troops. On July 14 Santiago surrendered with its 20,000 soldiers. There were no more dangers from shot

and shell, no more days of hard labor. Fraternizing with the soldiers of the enemy and with the Cubans was the order of the day, not realizing that they were fraternizing with the "Yellow Jack" and other diseases. Then, with the excitement of warfare gone, depression took hold of the 2d. Discipline relaxed, the men grew careless, many became ill, malaria being one of the principal diseases. The Red Cross ship "Texas" arrived and gave hospital supplies and relief to the stricken soldiers. But it was too late; irreparable damage had been done.

On August 10, orders were given to move the regiment aboard transports at Santiago. By the thirteenth of the month, it was on its way to Montauk Point, Long Island, where the disembarkment occurred on August 19. When the 2d set out for Cuba from Tampa it numbered more than 900 strong. When it was put ashore at Montauk, it was but 300 weak. The boys were not detained for long at this port for they were in such ill condition that it was thought wise to send them home, where they might be assured the best of treatment among friends and relatives. A furlough was issued to the whole regiment. On November 3, it was mustered out of service. Only six months had elapsed since the 2d had entered the National service. In that time two-thirds of the regiment had been on the casualty list, mainly from disease, and more than one out of every ten had made the final sacrifice for his country.

Worcester men lost their lives with the 2d Regiment:

Worcester Light Infantry: Fred Baldwin Taft, James Woodbury Wheeler, Silas I. Mayo, Arthur Dawson Stewart, Harold Benning Wentworth, Robert Henry Dowse, William David Roberts, Joseph Clarence King, Arthur C. King, Royal H. Pitts. (The last-named was Adjutant-General of the Legion of Spanish War Veterans.)

Worcester City Guards: Joseph Henry Beaudoin, Lewis M. Fay, George Leon Forest, Edward Robert Riedl.

Wellington Rifles: Charles E. Buck, who was the first to die in Cuba; Aloysius Lincoln Farmer, Earle Eugene Clark, John Michael Moran, Fabian Hakanson, John J. Moore, Alston Dwight Kimball, John James McLaughlin, William Capen Green, Marvin Fisher Ames, Thomas Francis Keevan, George Warren Hodgkins, Harvey Randall, Charles Maxwell Haye, Silas Undergrave.

The 9th Regiment won fame in the Civil War as the Fighting Ninth on thirty battlefields in the South. Reporting at Camp Dewey, South Framingham, May 11, 1898, it was mustered into the United States service, and on the end of the month entrained for Camp Russell A. Alger, Dunn Loring, Virginia. On June 26, it embarked at Newport News on the transport *Harvard*, landing at Siboney, Cuba, July 1, 1898. On the night of the landing, the 9th was sent on a forced march to the aid of Shafter before El Caney, and drove

on through the tropical night from ten o'clock until four-thirty the next morning. Meanwhile, even the light equipment, the rolled blanket, and the haversacks with three days' emergency rations had been, for the most part, left behind. On July 2 and 3, the regiment was under fire, being stationed on the left flank with orders to hold, no matter what happened. Like other Massachusetts troops, they had only the obsolete Springfield rifle, "which went off with the roar of a cannon, made a smoke like a forest fire, and was effective only when you could see the whites of the enemy's eyes." When the Spaniard lacked a mark, he waited until a Springfield rifle was discharged, and fired upon the position disclosed. The trench was the only salvation, and trench digging was the night and day occupation for ten days. It was the rainy season of the year, but the regiment was without shelter, and for two weeks slept in their trenches, or in the severest of the storms kept upon their feet. Their shelter tents and other equipment had been left aboard the *Harvard* when the regiment landed through the surf at Siboney, and were not unloaded until after the vessel had made another complete round trip North.

Santiago was surrendered on July 17, and the next day, the worn-out 9th went into camp on the lower slopes of San Juan Hill, next door to a swamp. On August 23, it moved into Santiago to be sent home. The move was made at least a month too late. When the regiment came to embark, yellow and typhoid fevers, dysentery and malaria, had all but wrecked it. Two hundred of its men were in the hospital, and three hundred should have been had there been any hospital in which to house them. Ninety per cent. of the officers were at some time ill, and only one out of five in the ranks escaped disease. The 9th had its own private graveyard within sight and hearing of the camp. Deaths were so numerous that it was ordered that no more military salutes over the grave of a departing soldier should be fired, because of its depressing effect upon the ill. Major Grady died on July 30; Major O'Connor, on August 6; Colonel Bogan, who had been in command when the regiment left Framingham, was invalided home and died on August 9; Lieutenant-Colonel Donovan, who had succeeded him, was ordered home to save his life. The remnants of as physically strong a regiment as ever left Massachusetts were returned in three detachments from Cuba during the last week of August. As the disheartened troops made their way to their vessels, twenty got only as far as the waterfront and collapsed, being taken back to the hospital and death. On one transport, the *Allegheny,* fifteen died on the way north to Montauk Point. On arrival, 175 from this same ship were placed under hospital treatment, while forty were so cared for from the other transports. Everything possible was done for the returning men, the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Association bringing bountiful supplies. Red tape was cut, and a

furlough of sixty days was given the regiment that its members might be taken to their homes or the hospitals of Boston and elsewhere in the State, to save as many as might still pull through.

Out of the 943 men who had left Framingham in May, but 342 were able to return only four months later. The pity of it was that not one man had suffered greatly from the days of battle; not one of the dead they had left behind had been killed by the Spaniard. The "Fighting Ninth" had gone to war at the behest of its country, but its greatest battles had been against preventable diseases, and its principal losses incurred because an unready people had failed in sending them what was theirs by right.

On November 26, 1898, the 9th was mustered out, after six months' service. The members bore with them the thanks of the general who had commanded during the Cuban campaign; the approval of the President of the United States; the appreciation of the Governor of the Commonwealth; and the gratitude of the people of the State. But one wonders what the men thought about it all. The deaths in the Emmet Guards as the result of service were as follows:

George Washington Brosman, Henry Sullivan (the first to die), John D. Sweeney, Edward F. Sullivan, Charles F. McMann, Michael J. Healey, Joseph M. Coffee, John F. Horan, John F. Keegan, James F. McTiernan, John J. Craven, John E. Casey, Walter Allen, Peter H. Bennett, David J. Kennedy, William H. Murphy, Thomas J. Ahern.

CHAPTER LII

World War

A half century after the last war fought on American soil, a greater conflict was being waged in Europe. But few Americans stopped long enough, in the prosperous times that it had helped to create in this country, to consider whether the United States might be drawn into the Armageddon. It has been estimated that a generation, or about twenty years, is all the time needed to forget a war and its lessons. To most citizens, in 1914, the Civil War was a minor conflict in which their fathers or grandfathers fought. The Spanish-American War was something that even its survivors did not consider seriously, and seldom recalled that its death roll was compiled by embalmed beef and preventable disease and not by gunfire. That quickly ended strife between two unready nations was nearly the allotted twenty years distant, the period required for forgetfulness. It is now two decades since the World War started and, although we are suffering from the aftermath of that great conflict, there is evidence that a generation has arisen which has vague ideas of the great war, of what occurred, of what it was all about, and what the United States accomplished under difficult conditions. Even to many who lived through those soul-searching months, the conflict has become ancient history.

General history must always be the background of local annals, and, lest they have been forgotten, a summary of national conditions and events may here precede the account of war activities of Worcester County, Massachusetts. In August, 1914, a war broke out which soon involved all of Europe and ultimately most of the world. For over two years the United States tried to maintain neutrality. It was a difficult task, for many of the old questions which had come up in the Napoleonic wars—contraband, right of search, blockade, continuous voyage or ultimate destination—came up once more for solution. The Allies committed many acts vexatious to our commerce, but the Teutons destroyed American lives. Following the sinking of the *Lusi-*

tania (1915), by which one hundred and twelve lives were lost, Germany, under considerable pressure, promised to be more careful in observing our rights, but on January 31, 1917, President Wilson received a German note, announcing that from February 1, all sea traffic within certain zones, about Great Britain, France and Italy, "without further notice, will be prevented by all weapons." This meant that the German submarines proposed to sink anything they saw within these areas, whether neutral or belligerent. President Wilson promptly broke off relations with Germany, but determined to remain neutral until that country should commit an "overt act," which he hoped might not take place. On March 16-17 three American-owned and American manned ships, the *Vigilancia, City of Memphis,* and *Illinois,* were sunk by German submarines. Wilson called Congress together in a special session April 2 and "urged it to accept the state of war which the action of Germany had thrust upon the United States." The response of Congress was prompt, although not unanimous; and on April 6 the President issued a proclamation of war. Senator Lodge in a great speech advocated the declaration of war and every Massachusetts Congressman gave his heartiest support. It may even be pointed out that industrial Massachusetts and Worcester, although they were profiting largely by the European conflict had voted against the pacifist platform upon which President Wilson was reëlected in the previous November.

The United States was unprepared for conflict, and it was upon this fact and other known conditions that Germany based its expectations of bringing the submarine war to a successful conclusion before America could give effective aid to the Allies. It was not believed possible for this country, in less than a year, to raise, train, equip, and transport to Europe an army large enough to affect seriously the fortunes of war. Upon the entry of the United States into the war, there began a contest the like of which had never been seen—nothing less than a race by America to send reinforcements to the failing Allies before the German submarine eliminated England from the war, and the Teuton armies overran Europe as victors. America had not only to prepare for war, but to wage it while making preparations.

Our country made ready on the theory "that modern warfare demands all the efforts of all the people, both military and civilian; and that the judgment of experts was to be followed as far as possible, thus avoiding the worst mistakes of the Civil War and the War with Spain." The army act of May 18, 1917, was based on these principles. It provided for a regular army of 237,000; the taking into Federal service of the State Militia units, and the drafting of an army of 1,000,000. In June, 10,000,000 men between the ages of twenty-one to thirty registered. By a lottery system 1,374,000 names were drawn, and the men thus indicated were examined for fitness for military

service, and by September the first, contingents were entering the camps, sixteen in number, being built to receive them; a like number of cantonments were in the course of erection for the "National Army." In response to an appeal from the Allies for at least a small contingent to strengthen the morale of their own soldiers, General John J. Pershing sailed May 28, 1917, and in June a division of the regular army embarked, the first of the American Expeditionary Forces, the "A. E. F." General Pershing cabled on July 6 that plans must be made to send at least 1,000,000 men across before May, 1918. To create a force of a million soldiers, and to send them three thousand miles over a submarine infested sea in ten months seemed an impossible task. How well this was accomplished, the whole world knows; in all, two million men were sent abroad within fifteen months. The first American troops reached France on June 25. The first American shots from European trenches were fired on October 27, and the first trench fighting by Americans occurred a week later. By December, 1917, a quarter of a million American troops had been landed in France; and in January, 1918, the War Department let it be known that soldiers from the United States were occupying front-line trenches "in a certain sector."

The navy was in a better position to be of immediate use. Rear-Admiral W. S. Sims was already in England, and within a few days after our declaration of war, made plans for naval participation in the efforts being made to overcome the submarine danger. Six destroyers arrived at Queenstown, Ireland, on May 4, under Commander Taussig. The story is told that when the flotilla arrived, the commander was asked: "When will you be ready to go to sea?" "We are ready now, sir," was the prompt reply, "that is, as soon as we finish refueling." Before the end of the war, 5,000 officers and 70,000 enlisted men were serving in our navy abroad. The total personnel of the navy expanded during the war from 4,800 officers and 102,000 men to 20,600 officers and 330,000 men. A great fleet was also accumulated. By the first anniversary of our entrance into the war, the United States had put into commission 1,275 vessels of all sorts; and before the end the number of vessels had risen to 2,003, and the personnel to 497,000. A bridge was maintained between the United States and Europe over which passed in almost complete safety 2,000,000 soldiers, about half of whom were transported in English ships, but guarded by American cruisers and destroyers. An immense number of cargoes of supplies were carried for the most part in American bottoms, which made up a huge fleet, and involved the use of 5,000 officers and 20,000 enlisted men.

The civilians' share in the preparations for war was a tremendously important one and involved an unprecedented number of the citizens. As said Secretary Baker: "This isn't a one man's war, or several men's war, or

an army's war, but it is a war of all the people of the United States." Every one was involved; even the children had to bear their burdens. Enormous amounts of food had to be raised; unimagined amounts of supplies of all sorts had to be manufactured; and all had to be accumulated, distributed, and the bulk of it sent across three thousand miles of water. Pershing contemplated having one hundred divisions in France by 1919; and this would require auxiliaries of possibly 8,000,000 men in America to sustain and supply this great combat force. That the war ended earlier than was expected did not change the fact that until it did end, all plans had been made and were being carried out on the basis of an army and navy, at home and abroad, of between four and five million men.

Various organizations were instituted for the furtherance of the enlarged program. The Council of National Defense had been created on August 29, 1916. Soon after the entrance into war, much of the work of the council was given over to six other war agencies. The first was the War Industries Board, formed on July 8, 1917, whose task it was to bring together the industries of the United States so that the materials for the war might be produced in sufficient quantities. The United States Shipping Board was established in September, 1916, to construct, lease or buy vessels, and to operate them. Before the end, the board had taken over complete control of the overseas shipping. The Emergency Fleet Corporation was formed to find and operate ships. As early as December 1, 1917, it was supervising the construction of 1,118 vessels; it trained officers and sailors, enlarged port facilities, and requisitioned ships. The diminishing food supplies of the world demanded the closest of attention that they should not fail. Herbert C. Hoover, later President of the United States, was made chief of the Food Administration. This body established the Grain Corporation, the Fuel Administration and other organizations in the furtherance of its work. On October 12, 1917, the War Trade Board was set up to control exports, imports and trading with the enemy. Then there was the Railroad War Board for the purpose of supplying the greatest amount of transportation possible. When it failed of its purpose, on December 26, 1917, the President took possession of the railroad systems of the country, and appointed William G. McAdoo as Director-General. There were also the National War Labor Board, the National Labor Policies Board, and many others. America's capacity for organization was tried and tested, and did not fail even in the face of unprecedented difficulties.

The story of the financial side of the war has never been fully told. The direct money cost from April, 1917, to April, 1919, was estimated by the War Department at $21,850,000,000, an average of over a million dollars an hour, and an amount sufficient to have carried on the Revolutionary War for

a thousand years. In addition, loans were extended to the Allies at the rate of nearly "half a million dollars an hour." These huge amounts were raised in part by increased taxes—the income tax, for example, or the levies made on the profits of corporations, or amusement and luxury taxes, and higher postal rates. The sale of War Savings Stamps helped some, but these served to encourage thrift more than they aided the government. Most of the vast sums expended were raised by loans—five Liberty Loans being the principal source. The first of these called for two billions of dollars; the fourth for six billions. There were four and a half million subscribers to the first loan; for the fourth, 21,000,000 people subscribed.

The high lights of actual warfare abroad still remain bright in the memories of many, and a description of the main battles fought require no repetition. Aside from a few units of the 1st Division, the 26th, or Yankee Division, made up of New England National Guardsmen, were the first sent overseas in early September, 1917. It went to the line of combat on February 5, 1918, in the sector of Chemin des Dames. The Germans made their last thrust on the Champagne front on July 15, 1918. The American Army was almost ready, and parts of it were used in the counter attack near Soissons, which was the turning point of the war. Henceforth the Germans were to be slowly driven from their positions; and more and more were American divisions to fight in the front lines. The St. Mihiel Salient had been held by the enemy since 1914. The first united effort of the American Expeditionary Forces was the complete reduction of this salient in little more than twenty-four hours. By the afternoon of September 13 the ground had been taken; 16,000 prisoners had been captured with 443 guns and valuable military stores. Four hundred and thirty thousand Americans had been engaged. "An American Army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power."

Then came the drive against the Germans in the Meuse-Argonne Sector. This, like St. Mihiel, had been in the hands of the enemy since the early days of the war. It was fortified elaborately for a depth of thirteen miles, and supposedly was impregnable. By September 26 the Meuse-Argonne offensive was begun. The American Expeditionary Forces had now about 1,200,000 soldiers available for the drive; 2,700 guns, 189 tanks, and 821 airplanes were ready for support. "The ensuing action lasted almost continuously from September 26 to November 11, and was less a battle than a tremendous war concentrated into seven weeks of furious combat." The forces engaged and the ammunition used by the Americans in these seven weeks were more than the total used by the Union forces in the entire Civil War. Early in November the German front had been broken throughout all its length. By the seventh the enemy in front of the Americans had been driven

back thirty miles and faced disaster. On November 11 the Armistice was announced by Foch and the Germans had signed an agreement which completely wiped their nation from the map as a military or naval power for the time being. Later came the Peace of Versailles. "Upon the signing of the Armistice," said Secretary Baker, "it will be necessary to throw into reverse the machinery which was at that time working at a maximum capacity in pushing troops to France."

The World War in its immensity dwarfs into seeming insignificance the efforts of a State, a county, or a person. Yet the carrying on of the tremendous conflict was ultimately the work of individuals and small units. However small the part, it was necessary to the whole. Insofar as the United States was concerned, its great task was to get ready, a thing that consumed the most of the Nation's time. The time element entered into everything that America did. In all the war records of America the element of haste—with waste often—is prominent. Massachusetts and its industrial centers, such as Worcester, Fitchburg, Leominister and Gardner, presented the same picture of hurry and scurry as the rest of the country, but with this exception—they began sooner and did their job quicker. Had Massachusetts stood alone, the Commonwealth could have placed troops in Europe in fewer weeks than it took months. As it eventuated, the Yankee Division with hundreds of Worcester soldiers was "the first to meet Prussian Guard; first to meet the Hun in any fighting of moment." When the Wilson administration at last declared war, Massachusetts had already a war organization, the Committee on Public Safety which had functioned for two months, the first of its kind in the United States and the pattern for similar committees established later all over the country. As in the Civil and Spanish wars, the State was in the van in the organization of its military and civilian forces and resources.

The cities of Worcester County had difficulties to face right from the start, and even before our entrance into the war. Nearly one-third of its urban peoples were of foreign birth or of the first generation from foreign-born parents. Ties of blood and language were not forgotten, and the attempt at neutrality, fostered by President Wilson, proved too idealistic. But the peace was kept although there was a small, but constant, stream of its residents moving into the ranks of Canadian and European armies. Fortunately the Teutonic elements failed to foment the revolution in America that was expected by the mother countries. That Leon Chester Thresher, of Hardwick, Worcester County, lost his life on the torpedoed ship *Falada,* and that George L. Butler, and Ellen Waarenanen, both of Worcester, Ida Exley, of Barre, and Dr. S. F. Edgerly, of Fitchburg, were among the hundred Americans destroyed with the *Lusitania* helped to consolidate opinion and protest, and it was the inspiration behind the forming of the Worcester Military

Training School, which in the winter of 1915 and 1916, trained a large number of State Guard officers.

Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated for the second time on March 4, 1917, and after a month of hesitancy delivered a message to Congress requesting a recognition of a state of war existing between the United States and Germany. It may be of interest and limn a picture of the activity of Worcester during this thirty days of Federal delay, to note the events of these days as compiled from the Worcester newspapers:

March 3—Sixty-two students and faculty of Clark College and University organized the Clark Volunteer Guard, Captain H. Wright, of Brookfield, becoming drillmaster.

March 10—Mayor Holmes, of Worcester, at a meeting of the Mayors' Club in Boston, appealed for legislation that would give municipalities power to seize foodstuffs, and act in other emergencies of wartime.

March 19—Captain Thomas F. Foley, custodian of Worcester Armory, was asked by the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts as to possible sites for training camps in the Worcester district. On the same day the Worcester Public Safety Committee was organized as a Home Guard, at a meeting held in the office of Mayor Holmes and presided over by Professor Ira N. Hollis.

March 21—Captain Burr, of the Worcester unit of Massachusetts National Guard, called for volunteers. Mountain View Park was offered as mobilization camp site. On same day Worcester physicians, dentists and veterinarians were urged to apply for commissions in the Medical Department of the Officers' Reserve Corps, U. S. Army.

March 21—Company C, Sharpshooters' Guard, composed of French-speaking people of Worcester, offered their services as Home Guard, through their commander, Captain Harry T. Renauld.

March 22—The Worcester Special Aid Society, Mrs. Charles Baker, chairman, voted to coöperate with the Worcester Public Safety Committee.

March 24—The Public Safety Committee conferred with representatives of Worcester's industries and railroads, on measures of protection. The general manager of Crompton & Knowles loom works received from the Secretary of War a commission as major in Ordnance Reserve Corps.

March 25—Four hundred National Guardsmen of Worcester mobilized at the Armory, the companies being the Emmet Guards of the 9th Regiment, the Worcester Light Infantry, Wellington Rifles, and Worcester City Guard of the 2d Regiment.

March 26—Mayor Holmes appointed one hundred and thirty-seven special policemen, for protection of Worcester property. Captain John F. J. Herbert received authority to enroll two hundred and fifty recruits for Battery B; the Red Cross Automobile Class reported at the Armory for duty; and Young Men's Christian Association workers began a campaign for funds to continue work among soldiers in Europe.

March 27—The Worcester Chapter American Red Cross planned considerable expansion of its operations.

March 28—Sixty Worcester women met, in response to call by Mayor Holmes, for war work.

March 30—Movement was begun to establish war gardens, nearly five hundred applications being received; the Worcester military companies were Federalized, and next day came the Federal call for 7,000 guardsmen.

April 1, 1917—Companies A, C, and H, of the 1st Battalion, 2d. Regiment, Massachusetts National Guard, left Worcester for guard duty, and Worcester manufacturers doubled their guards at plants.

April 2—President Wilson asked Congress to recognize that a state of war existed, and asked for army of 500,000 men. Flag raisings became general, and in Worcester women became active in connection with war-relief measures.

April 3—Saw departure of Emmet Guards for police duty.

April 4—United States passed resolution declaring that a state of war exists. On same day in Worcester Mayor Holmes issued proclamation to effect that Germans in Worcester were safe if laws were observed. A stirring memorable event of that day was the flag-raising on Worcester Common at 5:00 p. m., in the presence of 75,000 persons, it was estimated.

Without attempting a chronological account of Worcester activities during the war, certain outstanding events of the following few months may be noted. April, 1917, stood out in city affairs for the organizing of students in training and military for service. On April 10, the Worcester Polytechnic Institute formed a military company of one hundred, and by the 23d there were two hundred and fifty members of the institution in training. On March 10, also, the first Clark College boy enlisted in the United States Army, and Worcester Academy purchased an ambulance for war service in France. On April 20 six hundred students of Holy Cross College announced their intention of entering the Holy Cross Officers' Training Corps, and by the 24th more than four hundred of these had begun training. Meanwhile, on April 19, a Worcester man, Lieutenant Bruce R. Ware, from the deck of the U. S. S. *Magnolia* fired what was probably the first shot of the war.

May, 1917, was particularly given over to the strengthening of the local military organizations to war strength, or getting them ready for active duty. On the 7th some of the Emmet Guards were chosen for training at Plattsburg as officers. On May 12, Battery E of the 2d Field Artillery was mustered into service under Captain Arthur P. Twombly. On May 19, Worcester units of the 2d Regiment, Massachusetts National Guard, began to fill their ranks to full war requirements, and a week later the Emmet Guards had done so, the first in Federal service to accomplish this result. On May 24, the Motor Truck Company, recruited by Captain Franklin Burnham, was sworn into Federal service. On May 30 the B and E batteries of the 2d Field Artillery had reached their war footing.

June was a money and humanitarian organization month in the city and county, although the 5th marked the enrollment of 20,255 under the Selective Service Law. On June 8, Worcester "leads the Nation" in the Red Cross

membership drive, gathering in 62,491 members thereby passing its quota by more than 12,000. On June 16 figures showed that Worcester had subscribed to the First Liberty Loan, $11,543,600, or nearly $2,000,000 above its quota. Later it was announced by Frank A. Drury, chairman of the Worcester Liberty Loan Committee that Worcester had led all the cities in New England in the purchase of bonds, finishing in first division in two classes. On June 22, the Worcester Red Cross Chapter reported subscriptions for the county to the American body, of $638,451.35. Worcester was sixth in per capita contributions among the cities of the United States.

July and August were too crammed with events to be summarized in a few sentences. The first stages of preparing for war were passing; summer months witnessed the call to arms of thousands from the cities and towns of the county, and their installation in training cantonments. The organization of civilians went on apace, industries were regimented and production increased to unbelievable limits. In October the Yankee Division arrived in France with its numerous men from Worcester. Thereafter "the war" was not something one followed with pins upon a map of Europe; the stark aspects of the terrible conflict was thrust home to the hearts of all. From that time it was impossible to forget the boys over there, or the difficulties in daily civilian life of working miracles in the raising of funds, production and saving of essentials required abroad amid heatless days, meatless days, and the eventual daily reports of the missing, the wounded and the dead among our soldiers, at the front and in the camps.

The civilian side of Worcester's war work is the broadest and includes more people—if the estimate be correct that it takes four people at home to provide for the needs of one in military or naval service. Between fourteen and fifteen thousand of Worcester men went into the army and navy, or other military units, and a similar proportion departed from the other cities, towns and villages of the county. Sixty thousand in Worcester, and more than double that number in the county as a whole were busy sustaining the boys under arms. Statistics fail to disclose all the facts, for almost the whole adult population of the county were mobilized and organized for the prosecution of the war; the children and youth were by no means exempted. Says Brigadier-General John H. Sherburne, of the Commonwealth, and equally of its parts:

"To Massachusetts the war was a crusade to end tyranny and militarism and to establish in the world the right of self-determination of its people. Day by day, built upon the patriotism of the people, a vast and efficient organization was developed, reaching from Washington into every town and every home in the State. Children worked cheerfully in the fields to increase the crop yield. Women organized everywhere for the service they could give.

Bankers gave their help to the great war-loan drives. Professional and business men closed their desks, joined the Army or Navy staffs, or the many committees and agencies working out the industrial problem. The people who remained at home were keyed up to great and effectual effort. Subjected to much privation, they cheerfully submitted to every regulation which could in any way further the success of our armies. Altogether it was a most inspiring proof of the unity of the people of the State and of the Nation, a demonstration of the basic soundness of our institutions and government."

The initial and inclusive Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety in actual practice carried on its work of coördination, concentration and utilization, by means of subsidiary organizations in the counties, cities and towns. The Worcester County municipalities almost wholly answered the first call to act in full accord, sympathy and coöperation with the purposes and requests of the State Committee, and to this end ninety-five per cent. of the people of the county were represented in the local bodies. One of the first duties of the Worcester Public Safety Committee was to "see that existing military organizations should be fully equipped to the last detail for a possible call to service." How promptly this had been done has already been indicated, and how a further step had been taken in the forming of a Home Guard to replace the National Guard units as they were withdrawn. The preliminary committees, particularly those of the non-military order, had to do with finances, the coördination of aid societies, industrial surveys, transportation, legislation, and mobilization. Later came the preliminary committees on State protection, naval forces, military equipment and supplies, recruiting, and a dozen others. The press was enlisted and played their parts as "moulders of thought and directors of action." There were "Four-Minute Men," quick-fire educators of public opinion. Councils were formed for conservation using every practical method of increasing and saving supplies of every nature. The list might be extended into the hundreds and pages written of the important activities of each.

Among the larger groups were the Liberty Loan and allied committees, and the Food and Fuel administrations, unpopular but necessary. Worcester is one of the largest agricultural counties in Massachusetts, but despite its best efforts to increase production, could not feed itself, and was particularly short of wheat and some of the staple grains. "No-white-bread" weeks were tried out, meatless days and drastic reductions of sugar. Worcester and other large cities and towns in the county were tremendously important industrially. In the chapter on industries in this work a section has been given to manufacturers and their contributions to the effective carrying on of the war. The winter of 1917-18 was unusually severe and the coal supply which had to be shipped from mines outside the territory soon proved to be

inadequate. The Worcester Fuel Committee had the unpleasant task of distributing the inadequate supplies so that essential manufacturing might go on and the people kept from freezing.

As illuminating the pages of what is of necessity a dull outline of the work of devoted and often unappreciated committees and the no less patient devotion of a patriotic citizenry, one may repeat from the newspapers of the day the events of the month, January, 1918, as they have to do with the use of fuel in Worcester. The New Year was celebrated by the unprecedented closing down of most of the Worcester plants to conserve coal. On the second the lighting of streets was cut down drastically. On the third schools were ordered closed for the month and the coal in their bins sold to the public, business hours were reduced, religious organizations met only in their chapels or smaller rooms, dealers were ordered to deliver only sufficient coal to preserve health in homes and hospitals, and manufacturers pooled their diminished supplies of fuel. Throughout the first week practically all public gatherings were frowned upon, and on the ninth the order went out from the Fuel Committee, ordering six lightless nights a week, no elevator service, and the consolidation of church and similar meetings. On the day after, the Administrator was empowered to seize soft coal for distribution to industrial concerns and homes. On January 16 the Fuel Administrator ordered all manufacturing plants which made perishable products to close, and on the next day a general exodus into the forests was underway to chop wood for immediate needs. On January 17 Worcester bore as well as she could the first heatless Monday. Every industrial establishment in the city was shut down and forty thousand workers were idle. Many of the plants were prevented for some time from starting up. On January 9 the Worcester Fuel Committee telegraphed to the Director of Railroads, William G. McAdoo: "Send us coal. Substitute coal cars for Pullmans and discontinue all non-essential travel until the crisis is past." On the last day of the month coal dealers were forbidden to furnish coal to office buildings, stores and factories for forty-eight hours. Not all the heroics of the war are to be found abroad. To add one last touch to the picture—February 5, 1918, was the coldest day ever suffered by Worcester in fifty-seven years!

A special tribute is due to the magnificent parts played by the women of Worcester city and county. They rallied with the men to the call of their country, and while sharing the burdens of the males, had also deeds to perform beyond the masculine ken. Many worked in the munitions plants replacing men called into the army. Upon the women devolved the problem of making things to eat from substitutes, keeping the home fires burning without fuel, while in the Red Cross and varied activities, in deeds of mercy and as members of the Worcester Committee of the Massachusetts Division

of the Council of National Defense they were outstanding factors. The latter named organization dated from May, 1917, and had able chairmen in every city, village and town in the county, who brought about a coöperation of the numerous women's societies which made for efficiency during the eighteen months that the committee functioned. The work of the Council was done by a set of committees, the most important of which were those on Child Welfare whose valuable services gave rise to similar societies which continue to the present day; the Committee on Women in Agriculture that originated, incidentally, the word "farmerette"; Committee on Health and Recreation, Committee on the Maintenance of Existing Social Agencies, and others, all of which served well their designed purposes.

The Worcester Committee on Red Cross Nursing Service was founded in 1911, and during the period of the war, 1914 to 1918, enrolled two hundred and twenty-seven nurses. This committee, although bearing the name of the Red Cross was really independent of it, and was part of the Northeastern Division—one of the thirteen such in the United States. The first of its members to enter war service was Lexina J. Hadley, who was sent to the Post Hospital at Plattsburg, New York. She was soon followed at home and abroad by one hundred and forty more before the Armistice. Then there is the career of Miss Julia C. Stimson, daughter of a former Worcester minister, and a native of the city. After graduating from Vassar College, she became a nurse and volunteered her services when the Nation went to war. Ordered to France as Chief Nurse of the St. Louis Unit of No. 65 General Hospital, British Expeditionary Forces, she was promoted later to the office of Chief of Nurses of the American Expeditionary Forces, having the direction of the nursing system of the American army abroad, than which there could be no higher responsibility in her profession.

Mrs. Homer Gage has written in her *Worcester Women's Part in the World War,* that "in no city in our country have the women worked harder or more efficiently than in the beloved heart of the Commonwealth. The insignia of our city seems to have been an auspicious emblem, and our hearts were opened early to the cry of the suffering." In her comprehensive account of Worcester County's women's activities of this period one finds full details of organized work rising out of immediate and war needs, many of which were not included within the scope of the Red Cross.

"The British-born women in Worcester were gathered together in October, 1914, for active work in aid of the Belgian refugees, Mrs. Donald Tulloch being one of the initiators of the movement. In 1915 Mrs. Homer Gage and others took charge of the formative work in Worcester for the American Fund for French Wounded. Mrs. Gage was chairman throughout, and during the war period no less than 1,553 Worcester County women worked in

the rooms of the Fund, producing 1,116,855 articles for the wounded—hospital supplies, surgical dressings, knitted goods, and so forth. The Worcester Branch of the National Civic Federation organized a Surgical Dressings Committee of thirty members in October, 1915, under the direction of Mrs. Alfred L. Aiken, as chairman. This body of 500 workers had important part later in bringing into efficient operation the Surgical Dressings Section of the Red Cross in 1917, though they did not close their own workrooms until August, 1918, after almost three years of work. Mrs. Henry Cross was treasurer, and Mrs. Randolph Crompton secretary. Another useful women's organization was the Worcester Branch of the Special Aid Society for American Preparedness. The local body was organized in January, 1916, and did considerable work in making hospital supplies, also in conservation measures. In April, 1918, when white flour was scarce, they opened the Liberty Bread Shop in Worcester. Later they entered into reconstruction work. The officers were: Mrs. Homer Gage, chairman, Mrs. Charles Baker, vice-chairman; Mrs. Charles T. Tatman, secretary; Mrs. George F. Booth, treasurer. The Italian War Relief Fund sent out more than 10,000 garments, and many thousands of surgical dressings. The Women's Liberty Loan Committee gave a 'wonderful demonstration of the true patriotism of our Worcester women,' wrote Miss Catherine Olney, who was acting-chairman for the Fourth Liberty Loan. Mrs. Homer Gage was at the head of the organization. Through the Worcester work for the fatherless children of France six hundred and fifty of these waifs of a war-cursed world were provided with the means of life during the period when they could not be cared for by their own country; and Worcester County workers provided for another three hundred orphans. Mrs. W. Irving Clark, Jr., was at the head of the Worcester body, Mrs. A. C. Higgins being secretary, and Mrs. Roger Kinnecutt treasurer. The Women's Committee of the United War Work Campaign had Mrs. Milton P. Higgins and Mrs. Austin P. Cristy, associate chairmen. The Worcester Society for District Nursing, with Miss Rosabelle Jacobus as superintendent, did especially notable work during the epidemic of Spanish Influenza. The Women's Club of Worcester, Mrs. Charles F. Marble president, did very active work during the war, aiming at coöperation, not duplication, of effort; hence their help was appreciated. Miss Elizabeth M. Tulloch in September, 1917, organized the Red Cross Auxiliary of the Metal Trades and Employers' Association, banding together one hundred women of those trades for Red Cross work during their spare moments of each day. The Catholic Women's War Council, Worcester County branch, was organized by Mrs. John J. Cummings; the Smileage Campaign Committee was headed by Mrs. John L. Linehan; the Mayor's Honor Roll Committee

chairman was Mrs. Arthur W. Marsh; Mrs. John W. Maher was chairman of the Chaplain's Aid Association; Mrs. W. T. Brennan was president of the united branches of the L. C. B. A. in Worcester; Miss Rose E. Trainor was in charge of the Blind Relief Corps, planning particularly to provide occupations for blinded soldiers; and the regimental units of Worcester will ever be grateful for the work organized by Worcester women of the many regimental auxiliaries. The Worcester Women's Motor Corps Service, initiated in 1917, by Mrs. William Marcy and others, brought into operation a very useful home organization. In the same class comes the Military Girls, two companies of the Junior Red Cross, Auxiliary of the I O. R. M., commanded by Major Ethel Hemenway. Certainly, the work of the women of Worcester County during that critical period gives them honored place beside their men folk in the history of the supreme effort to right the world."

The name of Clara Barton, of Oxford, Worcester County, is internationally famous as one of the organizers of the precursors of the Red Cross Society, and the president of the American Red Cross Society from 1881 to 1904. Even her experience and imagination could not envision the stupendous modern achievements of this humanitarian organization even in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or even those of the Worcester Chapter, during two years of war. The local chapter had the then large membership of less than 2,000, in April, 1917. Six weeks later a membership campaign had increased the number in the county to 70,499. A Christmas drive of that same year added to the enrollment another 40,000. Both campaigns were under the leadership of David W. Armstrong, and at the beginning of 1918, the Worcester County members of the Red Cross Society, numbered above 118,000. Add to this the enrollment of the Junior Red Cross, and nearly half of the people of the county were enlisted under the banner of this one organization. Membership meant more than a subscription and the signing of one's name. Stupendous quantities of knitted articles, surgical dressings, hospital supplies and refugee garments were made in the various workshops. More than a million and a quarter of surgical dressings made up one item. There were nearly one hundred and fifty thousand articles knitted by willing hands. Miscellaneous hospital supplies ranging from surgical shirts and pajamas to trench candles, totaled nearly one hundred thousand. And there were some twenty-eight thousand children's garments, not to mention thousands of garments for men, women and children. The most of these things were produced by generously given labor and materials, and the cost thereof did not come out of the large sums subscribed by Worcester citizens.

In the early activities of the Worcester Red Cross there was no elaborately concerted effort to raise funds. The chapters were supported liberally but the future requirements were unrealized. The first of the two great Red

Cross "drives" was completed in June, 1917. Worcester County as a whole subscribed nearly $640,000. Worcester stood sixth in per capita contributions in the Nation. The second campaign, closing in May, 1918, brought into the coffers of the chapter, $950,000 and more. Both campaigns were directed by George A. Gaskill and Harry G. Stoddard. At this time the work of the Red Cross in Worcester had expanded into the realm of "big business" and required executive abilities of the best. That the honor may be given where honor is due, we reprint a paragraph from Crane's *History of Worcester County*:

This was a gigantic business, and called for executives of the highest grade. When war came the Worcester Chapter had as chairman the Hon. Charles G. Washburn, with Frank H. Marshall as vice-chairman, Alfred R. Brigham as treasurer; Mrs. Lizzie L. Bullock as secretary; Mrs. Alfred L. Aiken, Mrs. Lizzie L. Bullock, George F. Booth, Louis H. Buckley, Mrs. Homer Gage, Mrs. William Harrington, Mrs. C. F. Marble, Frank H. Marshall, and Maurice F. Reidy, as Executive Committee. In 1918 Mr. Marshall left Worcester, and was succeeded by Halleck Bartlett, as vice-chairman. Treasurer Brigham asked to be relieved, and handed over the care of the funds to Frederic B. Washburn, Charles A. Barton becoming treasurer in the spring of 1919. The Red Cross Administration Committee, organized in September, 1917, and expanded later, included the following gentlemen: William C. Radcliffe, Dr. Charles L. Nichols, Harlan T. Pierpont, George Sumner Barton, Louis H. Buckley, Carl Bonney, Thomas E. O'Connell, Charles L. Allen, Frederic B. Washburn, George A. Gaskill, Hon. Charles G. Washburn, Halleck Bartlett, George F. Booth, Henry E. Whitcomb. Civilian Relief Department was early organized, with Carl Bonney as chairman, and Miss Edith Billings as supervisor; Canteen Service came into existence in May, 1918, under the direction of Mrs. J. Lester Perry; the Bureau of Nursing was largely responsible for the enlistment of one hundred nurses from Worcester County in the Army and Navy, the Bureau being under the direction of Miss Rubie L. Cameron; Educational Committee had Dr. Nichols as chairman, and was especially helpful during the epidemic of influenza in Worcester; the Membership Department was under the chairmanship of George W. Child; the Junior Red Cross was organized and headed by Mrs. Edith L. Kinsley, and had 40,501 members; auxiliary Red Cross chapters were organized in all towns of Worcester County, each under its leader. This work enthusiastic and long-sustaining eventually earned for about 1,000 women places on the Red Cross Honor Roll, the list including the names of those who had given from eight hundred to 2,400 hours of labor to the Red Cross during the war.

The share taken by Worcester in financing, not only the Red Cross, and other humanitarian agencies, and most of all the raising of stupendous quotas of Liberty Loans, while an old story now, was a most brilliant piece of work done by bankers, corporations, business and professional men, and the plain everyday citizen. Two millions of dollars for Red Cross and closely associated work; then a campaign for $350,000 for the first Young Men's Christian Association War Fund—$393,000 was subscribed—and this but for one phase of the association's work; a third drive for more than half a million dollars for the "United War Work" activities of the Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Young Women's Christian Association, Jewish Welfare Board and Salvation Army, when $1,067,000 was actually subscribed, all were parts of a glorious whole. The Liberty Loans, one to four, and the fifth, the Victory Loan, called for impossible feats as measured by anything that had ever occurred in the history of the Worcester district. Yet every quota was oversubscribed, even the last and most difficult Victory Loan. To the five issues of bonds the county subscribed as follows:

First Liberty Loan	$17,966,350
Second Liberty Loan	34,500,300
Third Liberty Loan	20,211,550
Fourth Liberty Loan	37,224,650
Victory Loan	22,915,200

Frank A. Drury was chairman of the Worcester Committee for the first three loans, when the maximum asked of Worcester was $18,505,800. The total raised was $42,072,500. Charles L. Allen headed the committee on the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign which secured $19,239,150. The committee that directed the drive for the last, and most difficult, Victory Loan was led by John E. White, and again the quota was exceeded, and the amount of the bonds sold reached $12,283,000. "There probably was not a business man or official in Worcester who did not, directly or indirectly, work enthusiastically for the success of the stupendous funded issues that came before the people of Worcester for consideration and subscription during the war period." While figures and facts above mentioned had to do mainly with the city of Worcester, a like spirit was manifested in every part of the county, and similar great efforts made with like laudable success. The numbers of the municipalities and the irregularities of accounting and report, make a compilation of results impossible. One may approximate what the citizens of the county contributed to the prosecution of the war, by consideration of the following totals for the county seat.

Worcester's War Contributions.

Certificates of indebtedness; all national and savings banks that handled government loans	$ 41,062,000 00
First Liberty Loan	11,082,100 00
Second Liberty Loan	22,530,000 00
Third Liberty Loan	8,462,400 00
Fourth Liberty Loan	19,239,150 00
Victory Loan	12,911,700 00
United War Work Fund	1,071,543 00
Red Cross Fund, '17	636,217 00
Red Cross Fund, '18	927,049 00
War Savings Stamps Campaign	882,300 00
Y. M. C. A. Fund, '17	393,000 00
Jewish War Sufferers' Fund	150,000 00
American Fund for French Wounded to April, '19	99,696 51
American Fund for French Wounded Hospital	18,017 06
Worcester Branch, Surgical Dressings Committee	32,425 65
Worcester War Chest	28,537 01
Halifax Relief Fund	26,986 56
K. of C. Campaign	72,752 64
Fatherless Children of France, Worcester and Worcester County	41,910 00
Armenian Citizens' Contribution to National Armenian Relief Fund	35,000 00
Y. W. C. A. Hostess House Fund	19,783 16
Assumption College S. A. T. C. Fund	26,094 00
War Camp Community Service	16,000 00
Smileage Campaign	12,902 05
Belgian Relief Fund	16,000 00
Red Cross Fair	11,671 00
Palestine Restoration Fund	10,000 00
Welcome Home Fund	18,493 64
Armenian and Syrian Relief Fund	7,136 00
Soldiers' Library Fund	7,773 98
Clark College Ambulance Fund	8,000 00
Serbian Relief Fund	3,500 00
Metal Trades Red Cross Auxiliary Ambulance Fund	4,511 00
Prince of Wales Fund (sent to England)	2,400 00
Italian War Relief Fund	6,678 86
Evening Post Tobacco Fund	1,661 47
Notre Dame Alumnae Fund for Restoration of Mother House at Namur	3,300 00
Battery B Tag Day	2,920 33
Battery E Tag Day	5,000 00
A Co., 104th Regiment, Tag Day	3,209 16
C Co., 104th Regiment, Tag Day	4,095 75
H Co., 104th Regiment, Tag Day	1,543 00
G Co., 101st Regiment, Tag Day	6,010 50
G Co., 101st Regiment, Drive	7,344 26

Worcester Garrison Army and Navy Tag Day	2,000 00
Mothers' Club Tag Day	3,160 50
British Soldiers' Tag Day	2,600 00
Public School Children's Contributions	3,391 98
Salvation Army Fund, '17	500 00
Smoke Fund for Battery Boys	500 00
Total	$119,920,966 77

Upon the occasion of the proclamation of peace, Frank Roe Batchelder said in the *Worcester Daily Telegram*:

". . . . Worcester has every cause for pride in those who served at home. The story of the conversion of Worcester industries from the pursuits of peace to the service of war is a record of great achievement, made possible alike by men in the office who planned the work, and the men and women in the shops who accomplished it.

"While industrial Worcester worked day and night to furnish material of war, her women enrolled under the banner of mercy and gave of their time and strength in splendid measure to bind up the wounds of the stricken and bring comfort to the bed of pain.

"As Worcester gave her blood and brains and energy to the winning of the war, so with equal readiness she poured millions into the National Treasury, and into all the auxiliary services of help and relief. Even the poorest found the means to give generously to sustain the common cause, and the rich found in the war's uses for their wealth the greatest good it had ever brought them."

But Mr. Batchelder prefaced these paragraphs with the words: "To the soldiers who endured the hell of actual war the first honors are due."

How many Worcester men and women served in the World War is not known. A compilation of the names on the Honor Roll of the city gives 14,095. It is of course incomplete. An official navy report records 2,580 in the United States Navy and the Naval Reserves as coming from Worcester, and there were 350 from the city in the Marine Corps in France. The total number of Massachusetts men in the Army and Navy was 198,929, of whom 220 were drafted. It is probable that about 21,000 approximates the number to be credited to Worcester County. The first fine flush of enthusiasm for histories, statistics, memorials and rewards of "our young heroes in arms," has passed, and like the young men themselves, who upon their return to civil life tried to forget, it would seem that the present generation has forgotten.

There are many difficulties in the way of one who would recount the stories of our soldiers and sailors, either as individuals or groups. An adequate tale would include the histories of probably every division of the American Armies and of the fleet. Although sixteen years have elapsed

since the war, there is yet no complete roster of even those who paid the great sacrifice. It is a matter of record, however, that men from Massachusetts met death in every division of the United States Army. The great obstacle to the compilation of any adequate sectional or even State, history of local men or units, was created by the policy of the Regular Army authorities of breaking up local units, National Guard or National Army. The National Guard companies, and divisions, were accepted as units, and then scattered to camps all over the United States, a practice which was continued overseas. Whether this policy had for its purpose the quenching of sectionalism, or the prevention of any locality from suffering undue losses of its citizens, or simply to stop any region from taking too great pride in the military achievements—who knows? A well-known general from the Commonwealth said in print: "A deliberate policy was adopted of destroying all State allegiance and particularly of uprooting the National Guard tradition and the dual system of military organization provided for in the American Constitution."

Massachusetts was fortunate, or unfortunate, in having a large number of National Guard units kept together and sent abroad as a division, the famous 26th or Yankee Division, In this Division, Worcester was represented by six complete companies, of the 104th Infantry, B and E Batteries of the 102d Field Artillery, Company G of the 101st Infantry, and smaller detachments of men in other sections. The Yankee Division was the first of the American Expeditionary Forces to be fully organized, first to cross the Atlantic as a division, and "long before any other unit had done anything but participate in raids, units of the 26th were meeting the Prussian Guards, the flower of the Imperial Army. It was the first to go into the battle line as a division, and long before any of the regular army divisions had engaged the Germans, units of the Yankee Division had fought in three battles, Apremont, Seicheprey and Xivray." All of which is not simply a boast but a matter of genuine importance for here was a body of non-professional soldiers, volunteers who had taken up arms for their country, trained mainly under citizen officers and commanded, for the most part, by them. One writer has called attention to the fact that:

"There can be no doubt that the Division (26th) from the first showed distinctive character. The great outstanding fact which explains this distinction is, first, the whole division came from a small, thickly populated section of the United States. All the organizations from which it was built were of New England; practically every man and an overwhelming majority of the line officers were Yankees; every New England State was represented in it; and the Division had headquarters in Boston and was mobilized, trained and equipped in Boston. Secondly, and perhaps of more importance, the Division was a National Guard Division, except for a few men who came from the

National Army draft at Camp Devens to fill up the places left vacant by rejections of guardsmen. The men were volunteers, and for the most part, they were successful business and professional men."

The Yankee Division, with its large contingent of Worcester city and county men, went overseas section by section from September 7, to October 4, 1917, and did not concentrate as a division until a number of weeks later. On February the 26th it went into the firing line at Chemin des Dames, the first of the American divisions to be so honored. From that time the YD's remained in the line of combat until the Armistice. It received its baptism of fire in the first so-called "quiet sector." After six weeks in the trenches, instead of being given the usual rest period and the further training which was in order, the Yankee Division took over a wide front at Toul, where at Apremont the 104th Infantry and the 101st Artillery beat back the first attack in force made against American troops. General Edwards wrote of this event, in part: ". . . . And those men fought there for five days around Hill 320 in front of Apremont. They wiped out 700 Germans, made 40 prisoners and buried 200 Boches. The French army commander cited 117 men of the 104th and they got the Croix de Guerre in a very impressive ceremony when they were withdrawn. They also pinned the Croix de Guerre on the colors of the regiment, and I don't know that this had ever occurred before. It was the first time that troops had ever won in that sector, but from that time on we absolutely owned No Man's Land."

To relate the history of the division in detail, or even full outline, is impossible here. The best two books on the subject are: *With the Yankee Division in France,* by Frank Palmer Sibley, a newspaperman, and Harry A. Benwell's *History of the Yankee Division.* After Apremont came Chateau-Thierry, where even the French expected the enemy to break through to Paris, but which proved to be the turning point of the war. At one time the Yankee Division was the only body of troops between Chateau-Thierry and the French Capital. As a result of its stiff defense the regiment came to be known as the "Saviors of Paris." In the counter offensive of the Allies, the Aisne-Marne offensive, the division took Belleau Wood and Torcy on the first day, and in the final drive advanced against the best German troops for a distance of twelve miles. Casualties amounting to a third of its strength were met, and ten days were spent in amalgamating 6,000 replacements and intensive training. Then the 26th was thrust into battle that reduced that supposed impregnable St. Mihiel Salient, where the division was used as shock troops. It held and consolidated the area won during the following few weeks, and were assigned to the playing of the rôle of an army intending to break through to Metz, but which was really a move to prevent the enemy from withdrawing troops to send into the Argonne-Meuse sectors. Addi-

tional honors were won on the great plain of the Woevre, and then the Yankees were transferred to the line north of the famous citadel of Verdun, where on October 16 companies of the 104th fought one of the severest minor engagements of the war.

What was to the soldiers of the 26th one of its greatest disasters was the ordering home, on October 22, 1918, of General Clarence R. Edwards. The ostensible reason given for relieving him, and other former National Guard officers, was that experienced officers were needed at home to act as instructors of the National Army Corps, although it was already realized that the enemy was about beaten and the divisions still remaining in the United States would never cross the seas. The YD—this insignia was not adopted until October 23—was seriously weakened by disease (influenza mainly), months in flooded dugouts, stations that were quagmires, wet and cold clothing, insufficient food, the recurring gas attacks, constant sniping, and artillery barrages. It was a tremenodus further blow to the morale of the division that under these circumstances and despite its worthy record, it was made to feel that its leaders should be unappreciated and the division itself considered a mere pawn on the chessboard of army manoeuvers. While negotiations for an armistice were practically, and perhaps actually, completed, the Yankee Division, at nine-thirty of the morning of November 11, 1918, began an ordered, and orderly attack and, within the next hour and a half, won the required objectives, just as the great silence of the Armistice brought respite to the enemy. There was little rejoicing in the 26th, particularly the 104th Regiment, drugged as they were with the fatigue of service, particularly that uncalled for final attack. The Yankees were named as one of the first organizations to have the honor of going to the Rhine. It was too completely worn out to accept the honor, for it had rendered a longer term of service than any other American division in the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

On January 8, 1919, the 26th was ordered to prepare to return to the United States. To the larger histories one must go for accounts of a review and the awarding of commendations by President Wilson, at Chaumont, France, of the colorful God-speed given the regiment by the French, and of the last grand review in France, on February 19, 1919, in the fields near Mayet. On April 4 the first transport bearing units of the Yankee Division arrived in Boston, and by the 25th the division was in Camp Devens. Although frowned upon by the War Department, a divisional parade was made in Boston, before 300,000 rejoicing observers. In 1927, ten years after the units of the 26th Division began to mobilize, twelve hundred veterans of the many thousand young and strong who had gone overseas, marched quietly to the State House in Boston to be present at the unveiling of a mural memorial. This great painting depicts the 104th Regiment standing at attention before

General Pasaga and his aide, the French commander, decorating the regimental colors. A few minutes before its unveiling, Chaplain William Farrel, of the regiment, offered a prayer as the notes of "Taps" ended: "God forbid another war: God forbid another war—but if we must fight again, let the spirit of the brave boys of this regiment guide you in your country's hour of need."

The 104th Regiment was, of course, the pride of the Worcester region, because nearly a thousand of its men had, from first to last, been members of it. When it and other Worcester veterans of the Yankee Division marched the streets of the city, a hundred thousand greeted them vociferously and with gratitude that so many had returned safely. The Worcester "Telegram" upon this occasion, after pointing out the remarkable history of the division, added:

"The officers of the Worcester units have fought, died, and have earned high places in the United States Army. Col. John F. J. Herbert has made wonderful history with his generalship; Major Thomas F. Foley, formerly commander of Company G, who commanded the 3d Battalion of the 101st Infantry, has won the Distinguished Service Cross, the Croix de Guerre, and five divisional citations. Major Frank W. Cavanaugh, 51st Artillery Brigade, who left Worcester in command of E Battery, and Capt. George Jones, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross, commanding E Battery, led their men in such a splendid way as to earn high recommendation from the superior officers.

"Lieutenant, now Captain Archie F. Murray, A Co., 104th Infantry, regimental gas officer while he was with the unit until ordered home, so lived with his men that many wept to see him go; Lieutenant, now Captain, George C. Corbin, G Co., who refused to leave his men until he had to be carried from the trenches—such men it was that helped to make the Yankee Division.

"And the honored dead; in letters of gold shine the names of those who have made the Supreme Sacrifice, and their cross is the only cross that hundreds of Worcester soldiers have won with their life's blood.

"Corporal Homer J. Wheaton, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross at Chemin des Dames; Private James E. Mulvehill, Chemin des Dames; Lieut. Harry Rockwood Knight, Apremont; Lieut. William P. Fitzgerald, Vaux, in the Chateau Thierry sector; Capt. Ralph E. Donnelly, St. Mihiel; Chaplain Walton S. Danker, Royaumiex; Capt. Willard Smith, St. Mihiel—the deeds of these will live forever, as long as things material endure."

The space given to the story of the Yankee Division and the 104th Regiment must not be interpreted as meaning that these contained the only, or most of, the Worcester soldiers. As has been indicated, the 26th was one of the very few of the American divisions, where local units were kept intact,

and whose history therefore was directly connected with a city or a county. The 26th had hardly left Camp Devens to go overseas than the recruits of the 76th Regiment entered the cantonment. There were more men from Worcester county and city in this than were orginally with the Yankee Division. The most of them were assigned to the 301st and 302d Infantry regiments, the 301st Field Artillery, the 301st Field Signal Battalion, and the 302d Machine Gun Company. Units of the 76th arrived in France between July 10 and August 8, 1918, where they were immediately distributed in small and large detachments to serve as replacements in every division on the front. The 301st Ammunition Train, will be recalled as "Worcester's Own Battalion." Of the Massachusetts National Guard, not taken into the 26th, there was formed from the 5th, 6th and 8th regiments, together with the addition of troops from all over the United States, the 3d, 4th and 5th Pioneer regiments. These served overseas but not as the units were first organized. As many as 350 recruits from Worcester were in the 4th and 5th Brigade of Marines in France, the 4th being notably prominent at Chateau-Thierry. There were Worcester soldiers in numbers in the 1st, 2d, 77th and 82d divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces, but their numbers and units were constantly changed, and they were in nowise Massachusetts divisions nor had regiments predominately from Massachusetts. The 82d Division, for example, is claimed by the South, yet more than 200 men from Massachusetts met death in its ranks.

Worcester gave an unusually large number of officers to the Army and Naval services, nearly seven hundred who ranked as lieutenants and ensigns, or higher. Colonel F. J. Herbert, Major Thomas F. Foley, Major Frank W. Cavanaugh, Captain George Jones, Captain F. Murray, and Captain George C. Corbin, have been mentioned in connection with the Yankee Division. Rear Admiral Ralph Earle was a native of Worcester and was responsible for sending to France the famous forty-foot naval gun that could send a 1,400-pound shell a distance of thirty-two miles—America's answer to the "Big Bertha." One may not forget such high officers as Colonel George W. Bunnell, 101st Engineers; Colonel Robert I. Whipple, 301st Engineers; Colonel Edmund J. Daley, 55th Engineers; Colonel John E. Munroe, Ordnance Department; Colonel Oscar N. Sohlberg; Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel McCullagh; Lieutenant-Colonel Frank W. George, orthopedic specialist; Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin O. Johnson, with Siberian Expeditional Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur D. Butterfield. Distinguished Service Crosses were awarded to Major Thomas F. Foley, Major Luke C. Doyle, Major Chester D. Heywood, Captain George W. Jones, Captain Willard Smith, Captain Starr Sedgwick Eaton, Lieutenant Joseph E. Hare, Corporal Homer J.

Wheaton, and Privates, Raymond St. George, Saterae N. Maskas, Clifford B. Mellen, Henry S. Signor, and Alexander Zambrycyski.

Lieutenant Bruce R. Ware, of Worcester, in charge of the gun crew of the U. S. S. *Magnolia* on April 19, 1917, fired the first shot in the war for the United States. On November 9, 1917, Raymond F. Ronayne was the first Worcester volunteer to die in the service. The first that Worcester men under arms abroad figured in the casualty lists was on February 27, 1918, when Corporal Homer J. Wheaton and Private James E. Mulvehill, of the Emmet Guards were killed in action. The first chaplain to give his life on the American front was Rev. Walton S. Danker, of the 104th Regiment, who on June 18, 1918, died from wounds. About this time, Walter T. Hobbs, member of the Lafayette Fighting Squadron, was killed over German lines, the first of the Worcester aviators to lose his life. As the days went on the roster of those "killed in action," "died of wounds or disease" increased with sharp rapidity. Pages could be written of the brave deeds of our soldiers at home and abroad, if these deeds were known. At the end of this chapter is a partial roll of the heroic dead from Worcester.

The war activities of the county seat have been given in the greater detail as illustrative of what was done in other sections of the country. More was done in Worcester than in Fitchburg, for example, only because one city is more than four times larger than the other, and was the official center of many of the organized efforts of the war time. The records, military, financial, humanitarian, industrial—of Fitchburg, Leominster, Gardner, and other municipalities compare favorably with places of like size throughout the Nation. Fitchburg has its glorious pages of World War history, some of which were written before the United States had become allied with other nations. Many of its citizens answered the call of their mother country, or the urge to aid in the struggle across the sea. From the late months of 1914 to early in 1917 many had quietly enlisted under the colors of the British, France and other foreign nations. The Fitchburg units of the famous 6th Regiment, Massachusetts National Guard, were recruited to full strength and were early mobilized. But there was no room in the Yankee Division contingent for the 6th as a regiment, although 175 members became the 101st Infantry, and 800 of the 6th became the 104th Infantry, commanded by Colonel William C. Hayes and later by Colonel George C. Shelton. The 26th Division had, therefore, many members from Fitchburg and the history of the "Yankees" is in a measure that of the city's soldiery. As has been pointed out, the policies of the War Department in dividing local units between all branches of the service resulted in the city having representatives in nearly all military divisions and on many naval vessels and with the Marines. For the National Army recruits, the Fitchburg district was one

of the largest in the Commonwealth. More than 10,000 were registered, and 954 were inducted into the United States service. The *Sentinel,* one of the best sources of the history of this period, named on Armistice Day, 1919, 2,500 Fitchburg citizens who were or had been in the military and naval forces. The first of the many who died under arms, was William Robertson, of the Liverpool Irish Regiment, who was killed on August 8, 1916, in the Battle of the Somme. Among others who gave their lives were: Lieutenants Milton Matthews, John W. Marsh, Thomas Brown, Theodore Wyman, Lester A. Stone, Robert F. Stiles, and Wilfrid Fagan, sergeant of Company D, 104th Regiment, was killed near Verdun in 1918; Sergeant Burton J. Jenna died in England of pneumonia; Sergeant George T. Mack met accidental death at Camp Bartlett in September, 1917; Private Nybacka died at Fort Slocum, New York, September 18, 1918; Sergeant David Malcolm, Jr., died of pneumonia in France in October, 1918; Private Andrew J. McCabe was killed in action in France a month before the Armistice; John P. McNamara, of the Chemical Service, died of gas poisoning; Sergeant John S. Ryan died of pneumonia at Camp Devens, October, 1918; Private John J. Sheehan was the only Fitchburg man to die in the service of the American Expeditionary Forces in Russia; he was of Company C, 20th United States Engineers, and was killed in a railway accident. Private Raymond B. Monahan died of pneumonia at Camp Devens on September 27, 1918; Sergeant Ernest E. Merrett died of pneumonia in France, February 3, 1919; Private Robert E. McNabb, a machine-gunner, was killed in action in France, July 19, 1918; Angus K. McLean, who enlisted in a Canadian unit, was killed in action on October 2, 1918; Dennis J. O'Conner, an orderly in Medical Corps at Camp Jackson, died on his way home after being discharged in March, 1919; Sergeant Arthur Poisson died in action in France; Private John B. Ellis was killed in action September 27, 1918; Private John F. O'Hara died of influenza at Camp Devens on September 26, 1918; Private Thomas E. Moses died at same camp six days later; Corporal Ralph C. Robinson, who had won a division citation for bravery, died of pneumonia in France, October 22, 1918; Private Alfred J. Rousseau was killed in action on October 26, 1918; Corporal John McGee died of pneumonia February 5, 1919, in France; Private Joseph J. Taylor died in France October 12, 1918; Private Harold O. Yale died of pneumonia at Camp Upton, September 30, 1918; Private Paul Beaulieu died of wounds on the day upon which the war ended, November 11, 1918; Private Malachi Walsh enlisted in a British regiment and was killed in action September 20, 1917; Sergeant Albert S. Toole was killed in action on October 19, 1918; Private Adrien Yelle died of wounds, July 21, 1918; Corporal Lavoie, Company D, 16th Infantry, died of wounds, received in action October 9, 1918, his mother later receiving the posthumous award to him of

the Distinguished Service Cross; Hospital Apprentice Leo H. Woodcomb, United States Navy, died of influenza on September 2, 1918.

Leominster, although in 1918 a city of less than 19,000, subscribed to the various war loans more than three million dollars, a sum which was equal to nearly one-quarter of its assessed valuation. Its gifts to the war-service organizations were on the same liberal scale, and its civilian activities as distinguished. More than one thousand of its men and women went into uniformed war service, the most of the men being distributed among the 26th, 1st and 76th divisions, the Marine Corps, the Aviation Service and the Navy. Captain William Kenny received two French decorations, including the *Croix de Guerre;* Captain Leo K. Bernier was awarded the *Croix de Guerre* with bronze star; and Captains James H. Johnson and W. K. Morse, both were given the *Croix de Guerre.* Edward J. Lawless was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. Twenty-six from Leominster paid the supreme sacrifice; Luigi Aquilio, killed in France, July 20, 1918; Exlone Arsenault, accidental death in France, September 16, 1918; Wilfred Brosseau, died in France November 27, 1918; Enrico Chiuri, in France; Antonio Del Bove, killed in France; Henry A. Douglas, died at Camp Devens, September 24, 1918; Charles F. Dubay, killed in France, October 11, 1918; John J. Finn, killed in France, October 31, 1918; Henry W. Flibbert, missing in France; Morse Freeman, died at Camp Quantico, October 4, 1918; Giovanni Gasbarri, killed in France, October 11, 1918; Martin Glasheen, died at Camp Mitchell, October 31, 1918; Lester Horton, died at Gettysburg, September 30, 1918; John Hyland, died at Camp Devens, September 27, 1918; Clifford LeDuc, died at Fall River, Massachusetts, from results of service; Herman J. Lauson, died at LaRochelle, France, December 10, 1919; Carl G. Locke, died at LaRochelle, France, November 10, 1918; Raymond I. Look, died at Camp Devens, September 21, 1918; William H. Lynch, died Edgewood, Maryland, October 8, 1918; Daniel O'Keefe, died at Camp Devens, September 30, 1918; Donald M. Parker, killed in France, September 15, 1918; Emery J. Pelkey, killed in France, September 26, 1918; Harold J. Petts, killed at Hampstead, Long Island, New York (Aviation Service), February 15, 1919; Edward J. Regan, killed at Chateau-Thierry, July 23, 1918; Maurice J. Smith, killed in aviation accident, Fort Worth, Texas, April 9, 1918; Sidney Earl Taylor, died at Camp Hancock, Georgia, October 14, 1918; Raffaele Villano, died in France, September 26, 1918; John S. Thuerer, killed in action; Ludger Rouillard, killed in action.

The Gardner of the World War period with a population of less than 17,000, has a record that in most features was but very slightly under that of its larger sister city. The five government loans were oversubscribed by $589,650 and totaled $3,324,350. The estimated number of its inhabitants

who entered war service is given as one thousand. Major Seth Heywood, of the third generation to bear that name so well known in Gardner history, was one of the commissioned personnel from the city. He commanded certain "suicide companies" in the 76th Division, in France, but returned in command of the 147th Machine Gun Battalion. Twenty-one Gardner men lost their lives in their country's service: Oliva Caisse, Leo T. Burke, Gustaf Erickson, Harold B. Howe, Frederick Hall, Charles A. Larned, John P. Sokol, Carl H. Angell, Frank Bukoski, John Carlson, Jerome Cormier, David P. Guillow, Alfred Goguen, Phileas Gagne, Albin Forsberg, Joseph Hendrickson, Guy L. Hall, Alfred LaMontagne, Per Persson, Henry W. Vaughn, and Howard N. Tandy. Rena McLean, a nurse, also died.

Gold Star Roster of Worcester.

Army.

Major Howard W. Beal
Captain Walter S. Danker
Captain Ralph E. Donnelly
Captain Starr E. Eaton
Captain Frederick H. Lucke
Major Thomas M. Lynch
Captain Willard Smith
Lieutenant Harold G. Allen
Lieutenant Laurence S. Ayer
Lieutenant Norman R. Baldwin
Lieutenant Thomas C. Carver
Lieutenant Edwin A. Daly
Lieutenant William P. Fitzgerald
Lieutenant Lawrence J. Flaherty
Lieutenant Jens H. Frostholm
Lieutenant Warren T. Hobbs
Lieutenant Arthur W. Horne
Lieutenant H. Rockwood Knight
Lieutenant Donald W. Libby
Lieutenant William H. Montgomery
Lieutenant Brayton Nichols
Lieutenant Henry A. O'Leary
Lieutenant Horace Wyman
Carl L. Abrahamson
Dominick Edward Adams
Earl Q. Adams
William P. Allison
Frank J. Anderson
Sergeant John C. Anderson
Floyd H. Andrews
Claude H. Anson
Edward R. Askew
Isadore W. Baker
Exaid J. Barrett
Roy H. Bates
William B. Bates
G. Barry
Roy D. Beachler
Sergeant James M. Beatty
George L. Benoit
Carl G. Bergman
Francis B. Bertrand
Henry W. Billings
Louis Birtz
Edward H. Blanchard
Norman M. Blanchard
George Blondin
Isadore Blundy
Albert J. Boisvert
Louis Bombardier
Fred Bonyea
George A. Bourget
Archie F. Bray
Victor Brigham
Axel G. Broden
Harold Brown
Leinster Brown
Harry Alfred Brown
John F. Brosnihan
Frank C. Brough
Ralph A. Bruneau
George Bullion
John Bullock
James Burke
Ernest P. Carlson
Corporal Henry F. Caron
Clarence H. Carr
Frank A. Carrigan
Eugene S. Carter
Robert Cassie
Richard Castham
Corporal Ralph L. Chabot
Frederick W. Chaplin
William Chapman
Peter Clemenzi
Louis Cody
Arthur D. Condren
James E. Conlon
Sergeant Ralph Louis Cook
Walter F. Coonan
William J. Cooney
George D. Corey
Corporal Arthur C. Corsen
Sergeant Jerome J. Courtney
Charles Allen Creed
Hugh M. Degnan
Andrea Dell'Orco

Alfred J. Deemers
Roy E. Deragon
John E. Donnelly
Edward Donohue
Joseph Donvinto
John P. Dorsey
Patrick W. Doyle
Corporal Walter T. Drohan
Leon A. Dumas
Joseph H. Dunn
Frank L. Edwards
Corporal George E. Eklund
Charles R. Ellis
Sergeant Fife V. Ellis
Henry A. Emmons
Earle R. Estabrook
John F. Fahey
John L. Finneran
Thomas F. Flannagan
Stannis C. Flibbert
Walter J. Foley
Corporal William J. Forget
Charles G. French
Raymond J. Fortier
Joseph Fortin
James B. Friel
Frank H. Frost
Sergeant Nils H. E. Frostholm
Corporal Leroy W. Gardner
Gardner B. Gaskill
Corporal Arthur D. Gaumond
Corporal Raymond C. Gilbert
C. Goddard
Sergeant William Goodney
Joseph W. Grabonski
Arthur E. Green
Henry F. Green
Wendell A. Harmon
Enos A. Harpell
Carl Wesley Harris
Albert Hart
J. Albert Harvey
Leonard W. Haskins
Frank J. Hauser
John E. Hawkins
Corporal Louis R. Heal
Daniel M. P. Healy
Frank O. Hearn
William Hebenstreit
Charles E. Henry
Hugh J. Hickey
Sergeant Robert H. Hogg
Harry C. Hopkins
Raymond A. Hulbert
Corporal Patrick J. Hurley
Morris Jaffe
Alfred Johnson
Arthur W. Johnson
Charles J. Johnson
David W. Johnson
Elmer F. Johnson
Francis L. Johnson
George A. Johnson
Oscar A. Johnson
Willard Johnson
Albert L. Johnston
Forest D. Jones
John J. Kane
Maxwell B. Katz
Sergeant Cornelius F. Kelley
Walter P. Kelley
Herman Kaskinen
Arthur Kemplin
Clarence D. Kendrick
Norman L. Kennedy
Austin R. Kinney
Stephen Klukynas
A. La Freniere
Ernest F. Laforest
Leon Laflamme
Albert J. Lalime
Sergeant Harold C. Lamb
Sergeant Henry L. Lamb
Peter Lankivan
William L. Larmour
Corporal Leander T. Larsen
Paul H. Lawless
John F. Lawson
Corporal Gibson B. Leach
Philip Lederer
Carl Wilhelm Lemberg
Roscoe F. Leonard
William Leonard
Albert J. Lewis
John Liberir
Almon Kemp Lincoln
Carl J. Lindberg
Oscar W. Linsey
Charles R. Livermore
John F. Lonergan
Earl E. Lovejoy
George N. Lowry
George A. Lumb
Louis A. Lundin
Carl A. Lydgman
Carl W. Mabie
Sotereas M. Makos
Avak Manzovian
Noel Marc Aurele
George F. McCabe
John T. McCarthy
Sergeant Francis J. McGrail
Joseph J. McGrath
William C. McHugh
Sergeant Harry J. McKeeby
Charles McLaughlin
William J. McTague
Nicholas Malooly
Carmine Meringola
Sergeant Thomas Migauckas, Jr.
Corporal Robert A. Miller
Corporal Carl Miller
Franz W. Miller
Corporal Carl P. Milliken
George N. Minor
Edwin A. Moore

Michael F. Moore
Arnold H. Morgan
James F. Morgan
Andrew Moynihan
James E. Mulvehill
Tobey Najemy
Michael J. Nee
August M. Nelson
Olive W. Norcross
George H. Norsigian
Claus Nygren
Edward T. O'Connor
Patrick J. O'Connor
Claude I. Parrott
Homer E. Payette
Irving Y. Pengalley
Joseph L. Perron
William A. Peterson
Sergeant Ernest Picard
Albert F. Ploetz
Emil R. Ploetz
Harry J. Posner
Edward F. Power
Patrick J. Power
Francesco Protono
Andrew Ran
Walter A. Rand
Harold W. Randall
Payton C. Randolph
Sergeant John T. Rice
Corporal Edward G. Richards
Corporal Ralph S. Richards
William Roberts
William Rome, Jr.
Raymond F. Ronayne
Vitagliano Rosso
Corporal Harry Rosefsky
Edward A. Roy
George A. Roy
John J. Ryan
Corporal Gilbert Y. Sandy
Fred H. Sargent
Ralph W. Sargent
Antonio Schiavone
Corporal Thomas J. Shannon
James F. M. Sheeran
Sergeant George G. Shepard
William F. Shepard
Romeo Napoleon Siguin
Corporal Harold E. Simmons
Jacob Simon
John G. Sklutas
Charles Oscar Smith
Harvey Smith
Roy E. Smith
Wilbur Smithson
Theodore Southwick
Samuel J. Starr
Edward Steele
Raymond St. George
Wilfred C. St. Germain
Charles M. Streeter

Charles J. Sullivan
Jeremiah J. Sullivan
John L. Sullivan
Corporal Carl J. Sund
Albert J. Superneault
Edward Superneault
Francis L. Sweeney
Peter D. Tamulevich
Ralph Thresher
William F. Tierney
Aaron Torosian
Vincent Tovisio
Corporal John J. Travers
Henry P. Turcotte
Ciro Ursoleo
Corporal Anson M. Vibbert
Wilfred J. Vincent
Frank G. Warner
Corporal Frank S. Webb
Morris S. Wells
Corporal Homer J. Wheaton
Herbert O. Whitaker
James E. Whitesell
Philip F. Whittle
John Whittles
Cecil R. Williams
Ralph G. Williams
William H. Witt
Joseph Wolfe
Joseph Wolkowski
Joseph Wozalinski
Waldo N. Young
Corporal Alphonsus T. Wickham
Aurelia Wyman

NAVY.

Albert S. Abrahamson
Amede J. Amiot
Lieutenant John W. Bennett
Charles E. Bourke
A. F. Bridges
Walter F. Broadbent
Rollin M. Cannon
Franklin S. Clark
Lieutenant Thomas Courtney
Charles J. Graves
Albert L. Johnson
David W. Johnson
Edward P. Lind
James A. McGourty
Samuel E. Midgeley
Gordon Mixter
Corporal J. Willard Moran
Walter R. Roche
Arthur J. Rourke
Lieutenant Charles R. Seed
Corporal Herbert St. George
Arthur A. St. Germaine
John W. Viner
Lieutenant Frederick Wahlstrom
Herbert Watson
Henry C. Weiss

WORLD WAR RECORD OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

From Records of Adjutant-General of Massachusetts.

Town	Population 1915	Number of Men in Service	Killed, Missing or Died of Disease
Ashburnham	2,059	91	5
Athol	9,783	532	21
Auburn	3,281	128	2
Barre	3,476	116	7
Berlin	865	39	2
*Blackstone	5,689	147	6
Bolton	768	30	1
Boylston	783	25	0
Brookfield	2,059	63	2
Charlton	2,213	61	1
Clinton	13,192	657	17
Dana	712	21	1
Douglas	2,179	57	1
Dudley	4,373	72	6
†East Brookfield	....	33	0
Fitchburg	39,656	2,025	66
Gardner	16,376	675	22
Grafton	6,250	247	10
Hardwick	3,596	108	8
Harvard	1,104	49	1
Holden	2,514	110	5
Hopedale	2,663	112	7
Hubbardston	1,084	26	1
Lancaster	2,585	89	6
Leicester	3,322	170	4
Leominster	17,646	887	24
Lunenburg	1,610	47	3
Mendon	933	24	1
Milford	13,684	622	21
Millbury	5,295	219	7
‡Millville	....	123	0
New Braintree	453	5	0
North Brookfield	2,947	107	6
Northboro	1,797	59	2
Northbridge	9,254	442	16
Oakham	527	9	1
Oxford	3,476	142	5
Paxton	471	14	1
Petersham	727	21	2
Phillipston	390	4	0
Princeton	800	25	1
Royalston	862	16	1
Rutland	1,895	40	2
Shrewsbury	2,794	107	5
Southboro	1,898	98	1
Southbridge	14,217	651	24
Spencer	5,994	241	11
Sterling	1,400	52	2
Sturbridge	1,618	55	1
Sutton	2,829	62	0
Templeton	4,081	133	8
Upton	2,036	64	1
Uxbridge	4,921	195	8
Warren	4,268	139	2
Webster	12,565	549	21

WORLD WAR RECORD OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

From Records of Adjutant-General of Massachusetts.

Town	*Population 1915*	*Number of Men in Service*	*Killed, Missing or Died of Disease*
West Boylston	1,318	56	2
West Brookfield	1,288	30	0
Westboro	5,925	190	5
Westminster	1,594	81	2
Winchendon	5,908	255	14
Worcester	162,697	9,301	283
Totals	430,703	29,748	585

* Includes Millville, which was not set off as a separate town until May 1, 1916. Population of that part of Blackstone known as Millville, April 1, 1915, was 2,010.

† No record.

‡ Included in Blackstone record.

CHAPTER LIII

Great Men and Women of Worcester County

Out of Worcester County have come many men and women whose destinies have placed them among the Great Americans. Thousands of others, in the three centuries which have passed since the Nipmuck Country of Massachusetts was first settled, have given distinguished service to their Commonwealth and Nation, and have left behind them noteworthy contributions to the progress of their country and to civilization. The number of these is so great as to make it impossible to tell their individual stories.

The purpose of this section of our book is to name and sketch the lives of those who may be said to have gained places in Worcester County's Hall of Fame, and, in many cases, among the American immortals. Brought together, they constitute a remarkable group, unique in its range of genius and effort. Many of the names are household words, and will remain such for many generations to come. Mingled in deeds done and beneficence bestowed is much color of romance, not only in the stirring lives of pioneer and soldier and sailor, but in the infinite bigness of what Worcester County men and women have done to relieve their fellowmen of suffering, and to ease their burdens and add to their happiness.

Consider these three: Morton, the man who by the discovery of anaesthesia banished pain everywhere the surgeon must mend the human body; Clara Barton, the woman who brought organized care to the wounded of the battlefield and hospital, and, founding the American Red Cross, organized relief, in peace time as well as in war, to the victims of disaster the world over; and that other woman, Dorothea Dix, whose exalted zeal and eloquence gave, for the first time in all history, humane treatment to the insane.

Consider, too, three Worcester County farmer boys. Eli Whitney, who gave the world the cotton gin which made quickly possible the establishment of the great cotton manufacturing industry of the North, while it created the slave empire of the South. Elias Howe gave the women of the world the

precious boon of the sewing machine. The genius and infinite patience of Luther Burbank, as a breeder of plant life gave as his contribution prodigal additions to the flowers and fruits and vegetables which nature provided for man.

In our list are great pioneers, soldiers and sailors, patriots, and statesmen, scientists and inventors, historians, novelists, sculptors, jurists, practical reformers and philanthropists, educators, founders of great colleges and a university, and other institutions of intellectual culture and of art. The sum total of their accomplishments is an inspiring thought. In the sketches of their lives are contained incidents of county history which might not be elsewhere.

Several great names do not appear in this biographical section. One has an earlier chapter devoted to his career—General Rufus Putnam, founder of the Marietta Settlement of Ohio. The career of Alvah Crocker of Fitchburg, railroad builder and a principal founder of the paper manufacturing industry of the north county is sketched in the chapters on transportation. The life of Abby Kelly Foster is told in the chapter of events which culminated in the War of the Rebellion.

John S. C. Abbott, Historian, 1805-1877—John Stevens Cabot Abbott, who ranks as one of America's great mid-nineteenth century historians, was a native of Brunswick, Maine, but he may be considered eligible to a place in Worcester County's rôle of fame, for it was in the five years, from 1829 to 1834, when he was pastor of the Central Calvinist Church, Worcester, that he conceived the idea of a life's work as a historian and entered upon a literary career. He was a member of the famous Bowdoin class of 1825, which included Longfellow and Hawthorne. His brother, Rev. Jacob Abbott, was the author of the famous "Rollo" books for boys.

His first published works were along religious lines, including *The Mother at Home,* which had large sales. He became widely known as a historian with the publication of *The History of Napoleon Bonaparte,* which was the first life of the great Frenchman printed in English which treated the subject in an unbiased, judicial manner. In fact, as a great admirer of Napoleon, it is written that he "ascribed to him not only capacities of the highest order, but more virtues and fewer faults than are often found in a human being." As other English writers had pictured Napoleon rather as a monster, Abbott's history attracted great attention among scholars and was widely read by the general public.

His other larger works are *Kings and Queens; or Life in the Palace; The French Revolution of 1789; Napoleon at St. Helena; The History of Napoleon III; History of the Civil War in America; Romance of Spanish*

History; The History of Frederick the Second of Prussia; The History of Christianity; and *American Pioneers and Patriots.*

Herbert Adams, Sculptor, 1858—Herbert Adams, distinguished sculptor, was born in Concord, Vermont, and was educated in the public schools of Fitchburg, at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, the Massachusetts Normal Art School, and finally as a pupil of Mercie in Paris. He was awarded the honorary degree of Master of Arts by Yale University in 1916 and by Tufts College in 1927. He has had a notable career as a sculptor and has received awards for his work at the expositions of Chicago, Paris, St. Louis and San Francisco. He was awarded the medal of honor of the Architectural League in 1915, and the prize of the National Academy in 1916. The city of Fitchburg has a fine example of his art in the beautiful, and impressive bronze World War Memorial.

He was a member of the United States Commission on Fine Arts of the National Academy, United States, in 1899; is an ex-president of the National Academy of Design; a trustee of the American Academy of Arts and Letters; and a member of the National Sculpture Society, American Federation of Arts, Architectural League of New York, and is a trustee of the American Academy in Rome.

Charles Allen, Jurist, 1797-1869—Charles Allen, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, ardent and powerful anti-slavery man, esteemed in his day as one of the ablest men New England had produced, was born in Worcester, great-grandson of Samuel Adams, father of Samuel Adams the Revolutionary patriot. He entered Yale, but did not graduate, studied law, and became a leader of the Massachusetts bar. His part in the disruption of the Whig party and the foundation of the Free Soil, afterward the Republican party, has been related in the chapter on the period preceding the Civil War. He was offered the office of Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, but was compelled to decline it because of his health. Two stories are related of him which bespeak the man.

When he was a justice of the old court of Common Pleas the celebrated Wyman case was tried before him, with Daniel Webster as counsel for the defense, and judge and the great barrister clashed. As Senator Hoar told the incident: "The story is variously related, even by persons who were present on the occasion. The commonly accepted version, and one which is doubtless in substance correct, is that Mr. Webster was quite uneasy under the powerful and luminous charge of the judge, and rose once or twice to call the judge's attention to what he supposed to be a mistake of fact or law. After one or two interruptions of this sort, Mr. Webster rising again, the judge

said: 'Mr. Webster, I cannot suffer myself to be interrupted now.' To which Mr. Webster replied: 'I cannot suffer my client's case to be misrepresented.' To which the judge replied: 'Sit down, sir.' The charge proceeded without further interruption, and the jury was sent to their room. Judge Allen then turned to Mr. Webster and said: 'Mr. Webster,—.' Whereupon Mr. Webster rose with all the grace and courtesy of manner of which, when he chose, he was master, and said: 'Will your Honor pardon me a moment?' and proceeded to make a handsome apology and express regret at the occurrence."

When Charles Allen was Chief Justice of the Superior Court, a fugitive slave who had escaped on a New Orleans ship was seized by his master and forced back into slavery. The people of Boston expressed such indignation that the captain of the vessel was arrested and brought before Judge Allen, and the anti-slavery public was jubilant that so strong an anti-slavery justice was to hear the case. The question was whether the act of seizure of the slave was within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth. It was written of Judge Allen: "He taught the whole people of the country that even a slave-catcher could not fail in his reliance on the justice of Massachusetts; and that her indignation against what she deemed the worst of outrages, the kidnapping of a human being, could not swerve her from her obedience to law." The man was acquitted on the ground that the offense was not committed within Suffolk County.

Jane (Goodwin) Austen, Novelist, 1831-1894—Jane (Goodwin) Austen, native of Worcester, was one of the best known and most widely read novelists of the period 1860-92, embraced by the publication of her books. Her girlhood in Worcester was in a literary atmosphere rarely equalled anywhere in so small a community, created by men such as Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, George Bancroft, Governor, afterwards United States Senator, John Davis, John S. C. Abbott, and Elihu Burritt, the "Learned Blacksmith."

The girl was a lineal descendant of Governor William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony, and she studied and absorbed the traditions and romance of the colony. Encouraged by the sympathy of her father, Isaac Goodwin, a lawyer, and her brother, John A. Goodwin, historian of Plymouth, she began to write very early in her life, and her work was accepted by various periodicals, and most of her stories were first published in serial form.

Her initial success was *Dora Darling,* which was followed by *Outpost, Tailor Boy* and *Moon Fold.* Her first books were published under her maiden name of Jane Goodwin, but after her marriage to Loring H. Austin of Boston, she wrote under her married name, and as Jane Austin, namesake

of the English Jane Austen of an earlier generation, she became known far and wide. The anthologies list the best known books of her earlier period as *Fairy Dreams* (1860); *Cypher, a Romance* (1869); *The Shadow of Moloch Mountain* (1870); *Mrs. Beauchamp Brown,* No Name Series (1880); *A Nameless Nobleman* (1882); *Desmond Hundred* Round Robin Series (1882); and *Nantucket Scraps* (1883). Jane Austin's chief fame came from her historical novels of the Plymouth Colony, where the interest of her girlhood was exhibited. These are *Standish of Standish* (1887); *Dr. Le Baron and His daughters* (1890); *Betty Alden* (1891); and *David Alden's Daughter* (1892).

Clara Barton, "Angel of the Battlefield," Founder of American Red Cross, 1821-1912—Clara Barton, "Angel of the Battlefield," as she was known in the Civil War by Union and Confederate soldiers alike, and founder of the American Red Cross, was born in Oxford, the daughter of Stephen Barton, who under Mad Anthony Wayne had fought the Indians when Michigan was the extreme western frontier of the United States. Her young womanhood was devoted to school teaching, and she might have rounded out her useful life in that profession had her health not broken down, compelling her to seek a change. One might well believe that Providence worked to a predestined end by inflicting physical infirmity upon this great woman. Because of this breakdown she was in Washington, ready to meet her destiny and do for the soldiers of the rebellion what Florence Nightingale, "The Lady of the Crimea," did for the English wounded in the hospitals of Scutari. And again, when the war was ended, it was another physical collapse which sent her to Europe, there to receive the inspiration which led to the formation of the American Red Cross.

She went to Washington from her school at Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1854, and received an appointment as clerk in the Patent Office. War clouds were beginning to gather even then. She heard Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address. Fort Sumter was fired upon, and the call went forth for seventy-five thousand men. The first regiments from Massachusetts arrived at the capital and Clara Barton was eager to help them. She sent an advertisement to the *Worcester Spy,* asking for supplies and money and stating that she would receive all shipments and dispense them personally. The response was prompt and generous. Her home became a distributing agency.

She was not contented with what she was accomplishing for the cause. She volunteered as a nurse in the Washington hospitals. Many of the wounded brought back after the first fighting, had been so long neglected that there was no hope for them and all had suffered terribly from the pain of

their injuries and from hunger and thirst. Clara Barton saw clearly that relief must be provided on the battlefield. She must get her supplies to the front where the men were falling and lying uncared for. Officialdom stood in the way. A battlefield was no place for a woman, she was told by those whose authority she must obtain. "I have no fear of the battlefield," she answered. "I have large stores, but no way to reach the troops." She was resolute in her demand, and finally permission was given her to go to the front, her authority coming direct from the surgeon-general's office.

One of her first acts was to get in touch with the United States Sanitary Commission, which she found always eager to coöperate with her. But throughout her field service she worked practically as a free lance, "a sort of independent Sanitary Commission," as she afterward defined it.

It was in August, 1862, "when our armies fought on Cedar Mountain, I broke the shackles and went to the field," wrote Miss Barton. In the next two years this little woman and her helpers shared the perils of many battlefields, often working among the wounded where shell and bullet were flying thickest. Never did she leave the field until the last wounded man was cared for, in blue or in gray. The color made no difference to "The Angel of the Battlefield." It has been written, giving a glimpse of Clara Barton on her way to a scene of battle:

"Seated in an army wagon, piled high with boxes and provisions, rides Clara Barton, on her way to Harper's Ferry. Her wagon is one of a long column of army wagons, at least ten miles in length. Scattered along the road are men, weary and sick, who have fallen by the wayside, unable to go further. As her wagon rattles along, Miss Barton busies herself cutting loaves of bread into slices, and passes them to these poor, famished stragglers.

"Another train of army wagons is moving toward the battle of Antietam. The order of the train—first, ammunition, next, food and clothing for the well troops, and last, the hospital supplies—does not please Miss Barton. Her load of supplies reaches Harper's Ferry too late. The column of wagons stops for the night. At one o'clock Miss Barton arouses her driver, and they move on past the whole silent train so that at daylight they have gained ten miles and are up with the artillery, in advance even of the ammunition. There is need for this maneuver. An army surgeon, speechless with delight, when he sees Miss Barton approach in the wild fury of the battle, exclaims: 'God indeed has remembered us! How did you get here from Virginia so soon? We have nothing but our instruments and the little chloroform we brought in our pockets. We have not a bandage, rag, lint or string, and all these shell-wounded men bleeding to death."

"At Antietam—a man lying upon the ground asks for a drink. Miss Barton stoops to give it, and raises him with her right arm. A bullet, speeding

along, tears a hole in her sleeve and finds its way into his body. He falls back dead.

"Night settles down over the shell-torn battle ground. In a nearby house, a surgeon is sitting, gazing savagely at a bit of tallow candle. Miss Barton approaches him. 'You are tired, Doctor," she says. 'Tired of such heartlessness and such carelessness," he replies. "Here are at least one thousand wounded men, five hundred of whom cannot live till daylight, without attention. That two inches of candle is all I have or can get.' Miss Barton leads him to the door and shows him the barn, lighted by lanterns.

"'Who did it?'" he questions.

"'I, Doctor.'"

"'Where did you get them?'"

"'Brought them with me,'" replies Miss Barton. "'All you want—four boxes.'"

Scores of stories as vivid as this could be told. There was no end to her ministering care. She prepared great kettles of gruel over campfires and fed the famished sufferers. After the slaughter of Spottsylvania, a line of more than two hundred wagons loaded with wounded men en route to hospitals became hopelessly mired. Miss Barton was at hand to make kettles of hot coffee for the sufferers. "I became a notable housekeeper," she told her friends in happier days, "if that might be said of one who had no house to keep, but lived in fields and woods and tents and wagons with all out doors for a cooking range, Mother Earth for a kitchen hearth, and the winds of Heaven for a chimney."

Her personal bravery became a proverb. To relate a single instance, at Fredericksburg she crossed a stream on a swaying pontoon bridge, while shot were falling in the water on either side. As an officer approached to help her an exploding shell hissed between them, taking with it a piece of his coat and a part of her dress. But she was never dismayed. She had no time to think of danger. Her every thought was on her wounded men. Her battle service ended in June, 1864, when she was appointed superintendent of the Department of Nurses of the Army of the James.

As the close of the war drew nigh, Miss Barton brought to the attention of President Lincoln the need of a bureau for the locating of missing men, and he approved her plan and issued a letter advising friends of missing soldiers to communicate with her. She had undertaken a stupendous task, and at the end of four years had succeeded in giving information to twenty-two thousand families. As there was no appropriation for the purpose, she herself met the expenses. Later Congress reimbursed her with an appropriation of $15,000. During all this time, she was lecturing through the country.

Overwork broke down her health. Again, in strange ways, the hand of Providence was guiding her immediate destiny, by sending her to Europe for rest after her long unceasing labor.

Miss Barton was in Switzerland when she was waited upon by a delegation from the society known as the International Convention of Geneva, otherwise the Red Cross, who wanted to know why the United States had not joined with the other nations in adopting the Treaty of Geneva, which had as its purpose the neutrality in time of war of the wounded, and of the persons and material necessary for their care and treatment. She frankly told them she had never heard of the Red Cross, and believed the American people shared her ignorance.

As she became acquainted with the international agreement she was convinced of its great promise to mankind. She learned of its origin, in the experience of Henry Dunant, a Swiss, who in 1859 had witnessed the battle of Solferino in Italy between the French and Austrians, and seen the indescribable suffering of the neglected wounded on the battlefield. Returning to Geneva he described what he had witnessed in a pamphlet: "A Souvenir of Solferino," and urged that societies be organized in every country which in time of war would give aid to the wounded, regardless of their nationality. So great an impression did he make that the organization of the International Conference at Geneva followed in 1864, and the Geneva treaty was framed. In compliment to the Swiss republic, the colors of its flag were reversed, and the red cross on a white field became the universal emblem of relief in distress.

There followed the Franco-Prussian War, and Miss Barton responded to the invitation to go to the front as a Red Cross worker. There she saw what preparedness and organized efficiency of relief could accomplish, in contrast to the experience of the Civil War. "If I live to return to my country, I will try to make my people understand the Red Cross and the treaty," she told its leaders, and in 1873, again recovering her health after her efforts at the front, and for the French after the sieges of Strassburg and Paris, she was back in the United States, bending every effort to keep her word.

It was not an easy task to procure the ratification of the Geneva treaty by the American Government. President Hayes was not interested. But President Garfield, and after his death President Arthur took up the cause. The American Red Cross was organized with Clara Barton as its president, and finally, in 1882, the favorable action of Congress was secured, and the United States became the thirty-second Nation to join the Red Cross agreement.

In 1884, at the International Conference, Miss Barton introduced the "American Amendment" which called for Red Cross service in peace as well

as in war. It was adopted, and its world-wide benefits to humanity have been beyond reckoning.

For twenty-three years Miss Barton remained president of the American Red Cross, and twenty times she led its workers in the aid of suffering humanity, to Russia, Armenia, and Cuba, to the Sea Islands, Texas, Louisiana, and to many other states where calamity had left destitution and suffering behind it.

In 1898, with a cargo of Red Cross supplies, Miss Barton went to Cuba to aid the suffering people. Six days following her arrival the battleship *Maine* was blown up. Her message flashed to the United States, "I am with the wounded." With the surrender of Santiago the United States Navy paid her a gracious honor, for the first ship to enter the harbor, even ahead of the flagship, was the *State of Texas,* flying the Red Cross flag, laden with supplies, and standing on her deck was Clara Barton, seventy-eight years old, erect and proud of her flag and of the recognition accorded it.

When in 1900 the American Red Cross Association was reincorporated by act of Congress, its octogenarian president believed it time to retire. So she resigned, and William Howard Taft, then Secretary of War, succeeded her, and, becoming President of the United States, agreed to retain the office, establishing a precedent which has been followed by each successive President.

George Bancroft, Historian of the United States, 1800-1891—George Bancroft, greatest of the historians of the United States, distinguished as a diplomat, Secretary of the Navy and founder of the United States Naval Academy, was born in Worcester, son of Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft. The father was himself a historian, and the author of a *Life of Washington,* published in 1807, which was a standard book of its period. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and fought at Concord and Lexington and at Bunker Hill.

At the time of Shays' Rebellion he was minister of the Second Parish Church at Worcester. The rebellious little army had occupied the town, and he was told that a company was marching up the street toward his house, with the intention of commanding shelter. He seized his musket and stationed himself outside the barred door. The soldiers demanded entrance. "You are rebels," returned the indignant divine, "and you shall not enter this house except by violence." None cared to face so determined a man of the cloth, and the soldiers departed to find billets elsewhere. We tell the story to show the kind of man who sired George Bancroft.

It took great courage in that day for a clergyman to declare himself a Unitarian, as he did, and to lead in the establishment and building up of a new and unorthodox parish in the face of a religious prejudice which showed

itself in actual personal enmity. But this antagonism was overcome long before the close of his pastorate of fifty-four years.

George Bancroft graduated from Harvard at the age of seventeen in the class of 1817. The college recognized his great gifts, and provided means for him to continue his studies abroad, in the hope that he would return, eventually to enter its faculty. He traveled and studied for five years, which was an experience of extraordinary value in its influence upon his career. For a year after his return he was tutor of Greek at Harvard, and the following year, with Joseph G. Cogswell, afterward noted for his connection with the Astor Library, founded the famous Round Hill School for boys at Northampton.

He had already chosen American history as his life work, and in 1834 appeared the first volume of his classic *History of the United States,* which even today, a century later, remains the standard authority on the period from the discovery of the American Continent to the close of the American Revolution, and the formation of the government of the United States, which he evidently had fixed upon for the close of his history. The successive volumes appeared one by one in the next forty years, until the set of twelve completed the work. In 1882 he undertook a complete revision of his history, a task which was completed in 1885. The revised edition has since been the standard edition, embodying the matured convictions of the historian.

In the twoscore years in which he wrote his history, Bancroft divided his time between it and a public service most important and enduring in its results. It began, inconspicuously enough, as collector of the port of Boston, to which office he was appointed by President Van Buren in 1838. He was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts on the Democratic ticket in 1844, and was defeated. But he polled a larger vote than had ever been recorded by a candidate of his party in his State.

His defeat was perhaps fortunate, for the following year President Polk made him his Secretary of the Navy. Seeing the need of a training school for officers of the navy he brought about the establishment of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. It was Secretary Bancroft who in 1846 issued the order to take possession of California in case the strained relations between Mexico and this country should result in a declaration of war, and, who, in the absence of the Secretary of War, gave the order under which General Zachary Taylor marched his army into Texas, which was the overt act that precipitated hostilities.

George Bancroft's career in diplomacy began in 1846, when he was made Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, which post he filled until 1849, when he returned to the United States and took up his residence in New

York City. There for some years he devoted himself to his history. In May, 1867, he accepted the office of Minister to Prussia, in 1868 was accredited to the North German Federation, and in 1871 to the newly former German Empire, where he remained until 1874, when he was recalled at his own request.

Few men have had the personal contacts which came to him in his long and varied career. He had friends everywhere in the civilized world among the great scholars of his day. Opportunity for research came to him from every side. His own distinguished achievements were widely recognized, and many honors were conferred upon him by universities and learned societies at home and abroad. His winter home at Washington and his summer place at Newport, Rhode Island, were frequented by the great. Passionately fond of flowers, his gardens were of extraordinary beauty, and his rose garden at the National Capital was known to enthusiasts the world over. He lies buried in Rural Cemetery, in the city of his birth. The affectionate esteem in which he was held was illustrated in the verse cabled him from England by Robert Browning, upon his eighty-seventh birthday:

> "Bancroft, the message-bearing wire
> Which flashes my all-hail today
> Moves slower than the heart's desire
> That what hand pens tongue's self might say."

Erastus Brigham Bigelow, Inventor of the Power Carpet Loom Which Led to Invention of Wire Cloth Loom and Established Great Industries, 1814-1879—Erastus B. Bigelow was born in West Boylston, son of a small cotton manufacturer. His useful inventions began when he was still a boy, his first being a hand loom for weaving suspender webbing, and he had hardly reached his majority when he had developed two power looms, one for weaving figured quilts, the other for weaving coach lace. His elder brother, Horatio N. Bigelow, and he established themselves in Clinton, then an insignificant village, in 1837, leasing mills which they equipped, one with the coach lace loom, the other for the manufacture of quilts. It was the hey-day of the stage coach and the ornamental lace was in great demand through the succeeding decade. As to the quilt loom, its capacity was so great that the mill was able to sell its product at half the price asked in America for English-made counterpanes.

The passing of the stagecoach was indirectly responsible for the invention and development of the power carpet loom. The coach lace loom was enlarged by its inventor, and certain parts modified, to weave Brussels carpet. Further improvements gave the carpet a velvet pile. To quote Erastus Bigelow's biographer: "The carpet loom, as a conception in the inventor's

brain, was soon complete in all its details. The machinists under Mr. Bigelow's eye shaped the conception in wood and metal, and at Lowell in 1845 Jacquard Brussels carpeting was woven upon a power loom. The invention was patented in England, March 11, 1846, and in the great London Industrial Exhibition of 1851, specimens of Bigelow's carpeting were exhibited which won from a jury of experts the highest encomium. It was declared in their official report that the Bigelow fabrics were 'better and more perfectly woven than any hand woven goods that have come under notice of the jury.' "

It was soon demonstrated at the carpet mill established by the Bigelows in Clinton that where a skilled weaver could produce by hand no more than five yards of carpeting a day, a Bigelow loom, operated by a girl, produced five times that quantity.

Thus were founded the great Bigelow carpet mills, now, unfortunately, removed from Clinton as a consequence of a merger of carpet companies as the Bigelow Sanford Company. Horatio N. Bigelow was the business genius, Erastus the inventive genius.

His inventions did not end with the carpet loom. The manufacture of ginghams had become an important industry. But the weaving had to be done by hand, for its complexities were much greater than in weaving plain cloth. Two years of intensive study and design brought forth the gingham loom, upon which were built the huge Lancaster Mills at Clinton. These, too, are now dismantled, victim of changes in feminine styles.

Erastus Bigelow's carpet loom was the vital factor in establishing the large wire fabric manufacturing industry of Central Worcester County, for from it he evolved a machine for weaving wire cloth, with the result the formation of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, and the building of a plant which began operations in 1857 and was expanded rapidly as the years passed. Now it constitutes an important department of the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company.

Colonel Timothy Bigelow, Revolutionary Patriot and Soldier 1739-1790—Timothy Bigelow, patriot and distinguished soldier of the American Revolution, captain of the company of Minutemen which marched from Worcester Common, April 19, 1775, was born in Worcester, son of a substantial farmer. Frequent mention has already been made of him in this book, in the chapters dealing with the period leading up to the Revolution and in that war. But the circumstances of his career as a soldier, and especially of the unfortunate later years of his life and his tragic death, a prisoner for debt in Worcester jail, require a more detailed story.

He was first apprenticed in the mechanics' trade, and afterwards became a blacksmith, with his forge and trip-hammer at Lincoln Square, then the North Square. He prospered in this business, and aware of the advantages of education, collected a well-selected library, which included the works of the best English authors of the day. He acquired the art of direct and forceful speech, and of writing with point and accuracy. These accomplishments, coupled with a strong personality and a natural capacity as a leader, brought him to the forefront among the patriots of the town, at a time when most of the influential and educated citizens were Tories, in full sympathy with King George and his manner of government. We have already told of his place on the local Committee of Correspondence and of his political society. It was largely because of his activities and influence that the "Sons of Liberty" came to dominate the county seat and the country of which it was the physical and civic center. He was held in high esteem in Boston, and as a member of the famous Whig Club was intimately associated with Warren, Otis, Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, and the other leading anti-Royalists. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in the first and second sessions. When the company of Worcester Minutemen was organized he was unanimously elected its captain, and under his untiring instruction and drilling it attained such proficiency, as to draw from General Washington, at the first review of the new army at Cambridge, the exclamation, "This is discipline indeed!"

Joining the army as captain, he was soon promoted by act of Congress to the rank of major. In September, 1775, he volunteered for the ill-fated expedition through the Maine forest against the citadel of Quebec. "Had that winter march through the wilderness been the exploit of a Grecian phalanx, or Roman legion," wrote William Lincoln, "the narrative of sufferings and dangers, severe as were ever endured or encountered, would have been celebrated in song and story." Major Bigelow commanded one of the three divisions, which penetrated through a wild and unexplored country by the route of the Kennebec. During a day's halt of the troops, he ascended a lofty rugged mountain in what now is Somerset County, for the purpose of studying the route ahead, and to this day the peak bears the name of Mount Bigelow. The northern winter had set in. That the inadequate, poorly equipped, poorly supplied little army was able to proceed at all, was a military miracle.

In the attack on Quebec, in the night of December 31, Major Bigelow and his men were assigned to the hopeless assault on the then invulnerable citadel. Hopelessly caught in the fire from barrier and rampart, he was one of those made prisoner. He remained in captivity until the summer of 1776, when

he was exchanged, and was soon in the Continental service again, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In February, 1777, he was promoted to a colonelship and given the command of the 15th Regiment of the Massachusetts Line of the Continental Army, which was made up principally of men of Worcester County. He had whipped his regiment into fighting form in time to participate as a unit of the Northern Army in the campaign which resulted in Burgoyne's surrender. The 15th served through the war, and we find it most of the time in Washington's main army, including the dreadful winter at Valley Forge.

When, the war over, and the army disbanded, Colonel Bigelow remained in service a little time, stationed at West Point and afterward in command of the national arsenal at Springfield. He finally returned to civil life and his family, with a high standing as a soldier, but with a depleted purse. The pay of the soldiers had been irregularly received, and was in depreciated currency, and large amounts were still due them.

"With a frame physically impaired by long hardship, toil and exposure," wrote Lincoln, "with blighted worldly prospects, with the remains of private property, considerable at the outset, but seriously diminished by the many sacrifices of his martial career, he returned to his home. With resolute spirit he set to work to repair his shattered fortunes, and resumed the old occupation of the forge and work shop. But times had changed since the fires of the furnace were last kindled. If the products of his skill were in as quick demand as in former days, responsible customers were diminished. Hard money had ceased to circulate; credit existed only in name; and public confidence was destroyed. Change too had come over the war-worn veteran himself. The stirring occupations of the field, the habits formed by eight years of active service, the tastes acquired by residence in the camp, and action in the exciting events of the Revolution, and disuse of old avocations, had produced inaptitude for a course of business so long discontinued. Still he bore up against circumstances of discouragement, and continued to maintain his family in comfort and in respectable position."

But Bigelow fretted in his new existence. Finally, in 1880, with others, he obtained a grant of 23,040 acres, constituting a Vermont township, and there founded the town to which he gave the name of Montpelier and which is now the capital of the State. Then came the illness of a son and his death from tuberculosis, and this united with other disappointments to break down his energy and bring on premature old age. He returned to Worcester without money, became burdened with obligations which he could not meet, and on February 15, 1890, the patriot and soldier was cast into Worcester jail, a

prisoner for debt. He died a month later. His friend, Isaiah Thomas, announced his death in the *Spy* by a solitary line of type.

Mount Bigelow, in the Maine wilderness, remained Timothy Bigelow's only monument for over three quarters of a century. But on the 19th of April, 1861, when the country which the Revolutionary soldier helped so long and valiantly to create was about to enter upon its second war for liberty, there was dedicated to his memory the monument on Worcester Common, hard by the ground where he stood in front of his lines of Minutemen as prayer was said for them, and whither he marched away to war. Beneath the marble structure rests his dust. On it we read: "In memory of the Colonel of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army in the War of Independence. This monument is erected by his great-grandson, Timothy Bigelow Lawrence." And, telling in half a dozen words the record of service: "Quebec, Saratoga, Valley Forge, Monmouth, Verplanck's Point, Yorktown."

General Charles Devens, Jurist and Soldier of the Rebellion, 1820-1891—Charles Devens, gallant soldier of the Civil War, justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Attorney-General of the United States in the Cabinet of President Hayes, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard College and Harvard Law School, and in 1854 established himself as a practicing attorney in Worcester. When the news of war was flashed to Worcester in 1861, he turned over to another lawyer the case he was trying, telegraphed the offer of his services to President Lincoln, and on the night of April 16 made an address in crowded Mechanics Hall which fired the excited patriots to action.

He was elected major of the 3d Battalion Rifles, and departed with his men for Fort McHenry. Later he was given command of that great fighting regiment, the 15th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. He led his men in the disaster of Ball's Bluff, and with them swam the river to safety, and for his skill and gallantry was commissioned a brigadier-general. He fought in various of the great battles in Virginia, was twice badly wounded, and had the distinction of commanding the first body of Union troops to enter Richmond, of which city he was in command until after the final surrender.

Two monuments are his, Fort Devens at Ayer, which was the famous Camp Devens of World War days, and Daniel Chester French's magnificent bronze equestrian statue which stands on the embankment of Court Hill at Worcester, as a memorial to the men of Worcester County who served in the Rebellion.

John Boynton, Founder of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, 1791-1867—John Boynton, native of New Hampshire, resident of Templeton, was the founder of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, which originally was the Worcester Free Institute of Industrial Science. The first thirty years of his life he worked as a farmer, and then started the manufacture of tinware which he peddled over the country from a wagon. His own youth was lacking in opportunities and he determined to do his part to give young men who came after him an adequate start in life. To this end, in 1865, he set aside $100,000 for the endowment and perpetual support of the new school. It was chartered in the same year, and its first class entered upon its studies in 1868, the year following Mr. Boynton's death. It was one of the first schools of its kind in the country, and has maintained to the present day its place as one of the great engineering colleges.

Mr. Boynton's motive in founding the institute is embodied in his statement announcing his gift, as follows: "I have long been satisfied that a course of instruction might be adopted in the education of apprentices to mechanical employments, whereby moral and intellectual training might be united with the processes by which the arts of mechanism, as well as skill in the use and adaptation of tools and machinery are taught, so as to elevate our mechanics as a class in the scale of intelligence and influence, and add to their personal independence and happiness, while it renders them better and more useful citizens, and so more like our Divine Master, whose youth combined the conversations of the learned with the duties of a mechanic's son, and whose ideas and teachings now underlie the civilization of the world." Looking back over the history and the record of Worcester Tech, it is easy to see where John Boynton's dream has been realized a thousand times over.

Alexander Hamilton Bullock, Governor of Massachusetts, Civic Leader, 1816-1882—Alexander Hamilton Bullock was born in Royalston, son of Rufus Bullock, manufacturer, representative of his town in the Legislature, State Senator, Presidential Elector on the Whig ticket in 1852, and a trustee of Amherst College. He fitted for college at Leicester Academy, and graduated from Amherst in 1836. He taught school for three years, but his ambition was the law, and he studied for the profession in the office of Emory Washburn at Worcester and at the Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1841.

Like his father he was a Whig, and quite naturally was drawn into the political field. In 1845, 1847 and 1848 he represented Worcester in the General Court, and in 1849 served as State Senator from his adopted city. From 1853 to 1856 he was commissioner of insolvency, and the next two years was judge of insolvency. In 1859 he was elected mayor of Worcester.

He was serving on the military staff of Governor John Davis when for two years from 1848 to 1850 he edited Worcester's Whig newspaper, the *National Aegis*.

Governor Bullock was a staunch supporter of Abraham Lincoln's candidacy for the Presidency, and of John A. Andrew for Governor of Massachusetts. He was widely known as an orator, his fame extending far beyond the borders of his State, and in these campaigns, and in connection with the Civil War, his speeches were many and influential in framing public opinion and in stimulating patriotism. It was characteristic of him when he said, on the occasion of the 25th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry's departure for the front: "Bring me your tax bills and send out the regiment! Every man or woman who has anything to spare owes it to the country, this month and next, to place a portion of it, at least, in the public stocks. Every dollar invested for the government will transcend in appreciation the annals of usury; and even if it is lost, it will be riches to the losers, for it would be recoined in the wealth and treasure of the heart."

In the autumn of 1861 he was again elected to the Legislature, where he served for five years, the last four of which as Speaker of the House. Upon the announcement by Governor Andrew that, the war being about to end, he would not accept renomination, Mr. Bullock received the unanimous nomination of the Republican Convention and was elected in November, 1865. He held the post of chief executive for three years.

Governor Bullock was a conspicuously useful figure in his home city. He was president of the Worcester County Institution for Savings and the State Mutual Life Insurance Company, and director of the Worcester National Bank. At Amherst he was a trustee, chairman of the finance committee of the board and president of the Alumni Association. His college and Harvard University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Luther Burbank, the World's Greatest Plant Breeder and the Originator of Many New and Valuable Varieties of Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables, 1849-1926—Luther Burbank, greatest of all creators of new and useful forms of vegetable life, whose flowers and fruits have become commonplaces in our daily life, was born in Lancaster, son of a maker of brick and pottery. His early education in the science of agriculture and horticulture was confined to knowledge gleaned from such books as chanced to come to his hand. Nor does there seem to be anything in his inheritance to which could be traced the great genius which was his. Yet he was hardly of age when he made his first success as a plant breeder—the creation of the Burbank potato. And he was still in his young manhood when he launched out on his great life's work at Santa Rosa, California.

He was educated in the village school and at Lancaster Academy, and took full advantage of access to the town library which, for that day, was a good one. He worked on the farm, and was only nineteen years old when he established a small market garden in the near-by town of Lunenburg, where he had Fitchburg as the market for his produce. It was in Lunenburg that he developed the Burbank potato. From its sale to a Boston dealer he received $150, of which $140 was almost immediately spent for transportation to California. His two brothers were already living there, and it was for that reason that he decided to make the Pacific Coast his home, and not that he expected the advantages of climate which were to play so important a part in his work.

At Santa Rosa he found his ideal spot, and he settled down on a little nursery garden having a greenhouse, and set out upon the quest which he was destined to carry far and with a success such as has been achieved by no man before or since. Thousands of men and women have specialized along similar lines, usually in a narrow field of endeavor, and some of them have had valuable results from their skill and labor. But Luther Burbank stands out apart from all these, for he was a super-genius, gifted with sensibilities towards things of the vegetable kingdom such as none other has ever had.

Multiple hybridization was his working principle, coupled with ruthless selection and destruction of everything which did not serve his definitely fixed purpose. He blended and mixed, breeding for definite characteristics, quick to see and take advantage of the unexpected. He searched the world for species which might give new traits of color, or perfume or form, or hardiness. Once in so often we learned of a new Burbank flower such as was never dreamed of, or a fruit or berry of a new lusciousness, or a vegetable or a grain or a grass. Each was always dependably established as a variety. There has been no reversion to ancestral traits. The Shasta Daisy and the Blue Shirley Poppy and many another Luther Burbank flower creation are blooming each season in the gardens of his native shire, and, indeed, of the beautiful estates of his native town of Lancaster.

In the new *Dictionary of American Biography,* is a long and exceedingly well done sketch of Luther Burbank's life, from which we quote as follows:

"There was, always, immediately following the unusual production of variations the recognition of desirable modifications and the intelligent and effective selection of them, *i. e.,* the saving of those plants to produce seed or cuttings which showed the desirable variations and the discarding of all the others. In Burbank's gardens the few tenderly cared for little potted plants or carefully grafted seedlings represented the surviving fittest, and the great bonfires of scores of thousands of uprooted others, the unfit in this close mimicry of Darwin and Spencer's struggle and survival in nature.

"It was precisely in this double process of the recognition and selection of desirable variations that Burbank's special genius came into particular play. Right there he brought something to bear on his work that few, if any, other men have been able to do in a similar degree. This was his extraordinary keenness of perception, his delicacy of recognition of desirable variations in their (usually) small and to most men imperceptible beginnings. Was it a fragrance that was sought? To Burbank in a bed of hundreds of seedlings scores of the odors of the plant kingdom were arising and mingling from the first green leaves, but each from a certain single seedling or perhaps from a similar pair or trio. To the visitor until the master prover pointed out two or three of the more dominant single odors, the impression on the olfactories was simply (or confusedly) that of one soft illusive fragrance of fresh green leaves.

"Similarly Burbank was a master at seeing and a master at feeling. And besides he had his own unique knowledge of correlation. Did this plum seedling with its score of leaves on its thin stem have those leaves infinitesimally plumper, smoother, or stronger, or with more even margins and stronger petiole, or what not else, than any other among a thousand similar childish trees? Then it was saved for it would bear a larger, or a sweeter, or a firmer sort of plum, or more plums than the others. So to the bonfire with the others and to the company of the elect with this 'fittest' one. It was this extraordinary knowledge or correlation in plant characters, developed through many years of testing and perfecting that was perhaps the most important single new thing which Burbank brought to his work. He had enormous industry, utter concentration and single-mindedness, deftness in manipulation, and fertility in practical resource. So have other plant breeders. But in his special perception on variability in its forming his keen recognition of its possibilities of outcome, and in his scentific knowledge of correlations Burbank had a special advantage over his fellow-workers.

"But let us follow our saved plum seedling. Have we now to wait for six or seven years before a plum tree comes into bearing to know by actual seeing and testing what new sort of plum we have? No; and here again was one of Burbank's contributions (not wholly original to be sure, but original in the extent of perfection of its development) to the scientific aspects of plant breeding. This saved seedling and other similar saved ones (for from the examination of 20,000 seedlings, say, Burbank would find a few tens or even scores in which he had faith of reward) would be taken from their plots and grafted onto the sturdy branches of some full-grown vigorous plum tree, so that in the next season or second next one seedling stem would bear its flowers and fruits. Here are years saved. Twenty, forty, sixty, different

seedlings grafted onto one strong tree (in a particular instance Burbank had 600 plum grafts on a single tree!); and each seedling stem certain to bear its own kind of leaf and flower and fruit. (It has long been known that the scion is not modified radically by the stock nor the stock by the scion, although grafting sometimes increases or otherwise modifies the vigor of growth and the extent of the root system of the stock.) If now the fruit from our variant seedling is sufficiently desirable; if it produces earlier or later, sweeter or larger, firmer or more abundant, plums, we have a new race of plums, a 'new creation' to add to the catalogue of results for by simply subdividing the wood of the new branch, *i. e.,* making new grafts from it, the new plum can be perpetuated and increased at will.

"Although Burbank's experimental and creative work ranged over a long list of plant kinds his most intensive and long persisting work was done with plums, berries, and lilies. He had originated no less than two score new varieties of plums and prunes, some of which are among the best known and most successful kinds now grown. Most of these new plum and prune varieties are the result of multiple crossings in which Japanese plums played an important part. Hundreds of thousands of seedlings, the results of these crossings, were grown and carefully worked over in the forty years of plum experimentation.

"Next in extent, probably, to Burbank's work with plums and prunes was his long and successful experimentation with berries. This ran through about thirty-five years, involved the use of over fifty different species of RUBUS, and resulted in the origination and commercial introduction of ten or more new varieties mostly obtained through various hybridizations of dew berries, blackberries and raspberries.

Burbank's work with lilies came to culmination after sixteen years of study and experimentation in which he used more than half a hundred varieties in his hybridizings and produced a brilliant array of new forms. His love of his work and the satisfaction and thrill he found in it are well revealed in a brief paragraph in the account of the work with the lilies written for his *new creations* catalogue for 1893. "Can my thoughts be imagined," he said, "when, after so many years of patient care and labor, as walking among them on a dewy morning I looked upon these new forms of beauty on which other eyes have never gazed? Here a plant six feet high with yellow flowers, beside it one only six inches high with dark red flowers, and further on one of pale straw or snowy white, or with curious dots and shadings; some deliciously fragrant, others faintly so; some with upright others with nodding flowers; some with dark green, woolly leaves in whorls or with polished, light green, lance-like scattered leaves.

"Among Burbank's other and better known new flowers are numerous roses, several callas, including a fragrant variety, several poppies and clematises, the two giant Shasta and Alaska daisies, several Nicotianas, and a wax myrtle. The famous Shasta daisy, one of Burbank's special prides is the result of a multiple crossings between an American and a European species of field daisy and then between these hybrids and a Japanese form. The fragrant calla, known as 'Fragrance,' is descended from a single individual found by Burbank while critically examining a block of 'Little Gem' calla seedlings. He was surprised to note a fragrance resembling that of violets or water lilies, and found that it came from a single individual. This little seedling was removed and tenderly taken care of. No further selecting was done; this single plant was the immediate ancestor of the fragrant new race. The blue Shirley poppy was obtained solely by long selection from the crimson field poppy of Europe, but the Fire poppy, a brilliant flame-colored new variety, is the result of hybridizing a butter-colored species and a pure white species in the ancestry of which there was red of a shade much less bright than that characteristic of the new race.

"Burbank's new fruits, besides his plums and prunes, include notable varieties of apples, peaches, quinces, and nectarines, and certain interesting although not profitable crosses of the peach and almond and of the almond and plum.

"Of new vegetables Burbank introduced, besides the Burbank and several other new potatoes, new forms of tomatoes, sweet and field corn, squashes, asparagus, pears, etc. One of his most extensive and interesting experiments was that extending through sixteen years and resulting in the production of a series of luxuriantly growing spineless cactus useful for feeding cattle in arid regions. In this work selection was first made from three hardy northern cactus forms. These selective plants were then crossed with three southern forms, one from southern California, one from Central America, and one from Spain. On the whole pure selection proved to be more efficacious than hybridization in getting the desired results in this cactus work. The cross-bred forms tended constantly to revert to the ancestral spiny condition."

Elihu Burritt, "The Learned Blacksmith," 1811-1879—Elihu Burritt, who became known throughout the English-speaking world as "The Learned Blacksmith," was one of the great linguists of all time, and won additional fame as perhaps the first of the active apostles of universal peace. He was born in New Britain, Connecticut, where, after a few years in the village school, he served an apprenticeship as a blacksmith and labored for a time as a journeyman. But while he worked at forge and anvil, and in all his spare hours, his self-taught knowledge of the languages grew apace. When he was

hardly passed young manhood, he was the master of fifty tongues. Then fate led his steps to Worcester.

He had religiously saved his money that he might visit Europe and pursue his studies there. Though most of his little hoard was swept away in the panic of 1837, he determined to carry out his ambition, and went afoot to Boston. There he found that the ship upon which he was to take passage had sailed. Hearing of the American Antiquarian Society and its library where books could be read for the asking, he trudged the highway to Worcester, and there found employment in a forgeshop, at a stipend of $12 a month.

Gradually he became known for his knowledge of languages. Finally a manuscript supposed to be written in Danish was brought to him for translation. Harvard University had given it up. It was important, because of its possible bearing on the insurance of a missing ship. With some difficulty, the young smith found the key to the problem, and produced a translation of an account of the loss of the ship in the South Sea Islands. The language was a native dialect.

The incident, coupled with other minor successes, gave Burritt courage to write to William Lincoln, a fellow-townsman, offering his services as a translator of German. The letter greatly impressed Mr. Lincoln, who called it to the attention of Governor Edward Everett. He, too, was deeply interested, and read the letter before a Teachers' Institute, and there bestowed upon the hitherto obscure Burritt the name of "The Learned Blacksmith," which clung to him through his lifetime, and appears in the anthologies of English literature. The newspapers everywhere printed the Everett speech, and almost overnight Burritt's name was a household word. He was invited to pursue his studies at Harvard, but declined the privilege, preferring to remain at the Worcester forge. A suggestion of his life and character will be found in an entry in his diary at the age of twenty-six:

"Monday, June 18, headache; forty pages of *Cuvier's Theory of the Earth,* sixty-four pages French, eleven hours forging. Tuesday, sixty-five lines of Hebrew, thirty pages of French, ten pages of *Cuvier's Theory*, eight lines of Syriac, two ditto Danish, ten ditto Bohemian, nine ditto Polish, fifteen names of stars, two hours forging. Wednesday, twenty-five lines Hebrew, fifty pages of astronomy, eleven hours forging. Thursday, fifty-five lines of Hebrew, eight ditto Syriac, eleven hours forging. Friday, unwell; twelve hours forging. Saturday, unwell; fifty pages Natural Philosophy, ten hours forging. Sunday, lessons for Bible class."

Here is an incident which illustrates to what profound depths this linguistic phenomenon had gone while humbly laboring as a smith. He had found in the library of the Antiquarian Society a Celto-Breton dictionary and

grammar, and he soon determined to write a letter in the Celto-Breton language to the Royal Antiquarian Society of France. He did so, and a few months afterwards received at his anvil a package containing a large volume, bearing the seal of the Royal Society, and containing a copy of his letter in Celto-Breton and an introduction from a scholar, in which it was stated that the latter was correctly composed.

It might be well to mention, also, that the Learned Blacksmith translated all the Icelandic Sagas relating to the discovery of North America; and also the epistles written by the Samaritans of Nablous to Savants of Oxford. Strange to say, Burritt always believed that his native genius was for mathematics and that his interest in languages was acquired!

Burritt came to be in great demand as a lecturer. It is related that he lectured sixty-eight times in the winter of 1842. But he did not abandon his forging, and from it maintained his bodily vigor. He became intensely interested in the cause of peace, and established in Worcester a weekly periodical known as *The Christian Citizen,* which was devoted not only to peace, but to religion, anti-slavery, temperance and education, and was published for seven years. He founded what he called the "League of Peace Mission," which aroused a widespread interest, and in 1846 led him to visit England. There he was warmly received, and there he created "The League of Universal Brotherhood." Peace congresses were held in Brussels, Paris, Frankfort-on-the-Main, London, Manchester. Famous men, among them Victor Hugo and Carlyle, associated themselves with him in the movement, which had made great progress when the great blow fell—the outbreak of the Civil War in America. To the apostle it seemed that all the good that had been done, was now undone.

At the close of the Rebellion he represented the United States as consular agent at Birmingham, and while in England gathered experience which is recorded in his published works. These include *Sparks from the Anvil, A Voice from the Forge, Peace Papers for the People, Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad,* and *A Walk from John O'Groat's to Land's End.*

As bearing on Elihu Burritt's campaign for peace, and in recent years a growing friendship between the cities of Worcester, England, and Worcester, Massachusetts, the following letter, written in New Britain to an old Worcester friend in 1874, has interest:

"I am very happy to hear that the dear Worcester of my love and pride, where my public life was born, is going to revive the pleasant communion and fellowship with the old Worcester of Mother England with which I was somewhat connected nearly 30 years ago. During the Oregon controversy in 1846, when it was assuming a serious aspect, Joseph Crossfield, a Quaker of Manchester, originated a kind of direct interchange of sentiments on the

subject between English and American towns through Friendly International Addresses. A great number of these addresses were sent from various towns in England and Scotland to our principal cities. These were all sent to me, or my care, and I had them printed on slips, and posted to several hundred newspapers scattered over the Union. One of these was from Edinburgh to Washington, bearing the names of Dr. Chalmers and the first men of that city. I took this on to Washington myself, and among others showed it to John C. Calhoun, who was deeply interested in it. At the same time I took with me an address signed by 1,600 ladies of the city of Exeter, England, to the ladies of Philadelphia, who sent a response to it, signed I believe by over 3,000 of their number.

"When I went to England in 1846 I took with me this response, and also that of our Worcester to the mother Worcester in England. Both were presented at public meetings convened for the purpose, and excited the liveliest interest. I have copied out of the *Christian Citizen* volume for 1846 both communications of the two Worcesters, which will show you the spirit which they breathed and inspired. I do not know what has become of the original Address from Old Worcester. It ought to have been preserved in the archives of the city."

Jonas G. Clark, Founder of Clark University, 1815-1900—Jonas G. Clark, native of Hubbardston and founder of Clark University at Worcester, was the son of a farmer of independent means and received a sound common school education. He learned the trade of carriage-maker, and carried on that business, branching also into the hardware trade and manufacturing. He saw the opportunity to make money during the gold rush to California, not as a miner, but as a merchant, and in the 'fifties laid the foundation of a large fortune by dealing in miners' supplies. This he augmented on a larger scale in the reconstruction period following the Civil War, making large transactions in government securities and the purchase of New York real estate. His home property on Seventy-second Street, purchased in 1875, he sold for half a million dollars when he moved to Worcester in 1881 to establish a permanent residence.

There he conceived the plan of a great university where advanced post-graduate courses and original research might be pursued without going abroad, and in 1887 he founded Clark University, endowing it with two million dollars. The following year Dr. G. Stanley Hall came from Johns Hopkins University to be its president. Upon the founder's death in 1900, large additional sums were bequeathed the institution, including money for establishing a college department, and for a beautiful and complete library building and a generous endowment for the maintenance of the library. Of

his university, Mr. Clark said: "Broad in scope, liberal in its methods, and comprehensive in its teachings, it must of necessity prove a powerful instrument in promoting the higher education and fuller development of the intellectual faculties of our people. Being placed, as we propose it shall be, in charge of the wisest and most accomplished scholars of the day, in several departments of science, literature and art, those seeking to avail themselves of its advantages will be brought in close relations with the best thought and most profound wisdom of the world today."

George Crompton, Inventor of the Fancy Loom, 1829-1886—George Crompton was born in England and came to America with his family when he was ten years old. He attended private schools and Millbury Academy. His father, William Crompton, was a mechanic and inventor. He had been in America only a year when, in 1837, his employers in Taunton asked him to produce a loom which would weave certain patterns, and the result was a great invention, the fancy loom.

After having some experience as a maker of pistols, young George Crompton went to Washington and procured an extension of his father's patent. Returning to Worcester, in partnership with Merrill E. Forbush, he began the manufacture of looms. Just as the business had begun to prosper in 1854, fire destroyed buildings and machinery. Mr. Crompton was advised to go into bankruptcy, but this he refused to do, and visiting personally every creditor, he secured an extension of time. Dissolving his partnership, he began again. Then came the outbreak of the Civil War and his business suffered, and he returned to the manufacture of pistols.

It was at this period of his career that his latent inventive genius asserted itself, and he went over his father's invention and perfected it, bringing it to the most exacting needs in the weaving of fancy cashmeres. This was the first of many inventions. In the course of his life, Mr. Crompton took out two hundred and twelve patents.

Resuming the manufacture of looms in their perfected type, Mr. Crompton again met reverses in the panic of 1877. But he overcame the embarrassments which he suffered in common with other industrialists, and built up the great Crompton Loom Works, whose products were known and used everywhere that fine fabrics were woven. When he died he was sole owner of the business, which afterwards was consolidated with that of the Knowles Loom Works, as the Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, whose great plant in Worcester is the largest in the world for the building of fancy looms.

Mr. Crompton's exactitude in financial and business affairs was the subject of frequent comment. It was illustrated by an incident related by his biographer: "During his earlier business years he once found pay-day

approaching and no funds to meet it. He at once started on a collecting tour. The evening before pay-day found him with money in his pocket, but on the wrong side of the Connecticut River, swollen with a spring freshet and filled with large cakes of ice, and no bridge in the neighborhood on which to cross. He hunted until he found a boatman with a small boat who was willing to risk his life for an adequate compensation, and the two started across the river. It was several hours before they landed on the opposite shore, at a long distance below the starting point, and completely wet through, but Mr. Crompton's men were paid before night on their regular pay-day."

"Honest John" Davis, Governor of Massachusetts, Congressman, United States Senator, 1787-1864—John Davis was born in Northboro, the son of a well-to-do farmer. He attended the village schools, and when sixteen years old became a teacher in one of them, there earning enough money to enable him to attend Leicester Academy and prepare for college. He graduated from Yale in 1812, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1815, and began his practice in Spencer. But the following year he removed to Worcester, which being the county seat offered greater opportunities in his profession. Presently he was one of the leading lawyers of Worcester County. At various times he was a law partner of Levi Lincoln, Charles Allen and Emory Washburn.

In 1824 he was elected on the Whig ticket Congressman for the South District of Worcester County, and held his seat through successive reëlections until January, 1834. He was distinguished as the advocate of the "American System" of protection to home industry. His speeches were widely read, among them those on the bill of 1827 to increase the duties on wool and woolens; on the tariff bill of 1828; on the 1830 bill for the more effectual collection of imposts; and in answer to McDuffie of South Carolina in 1832.

Mr. Davis was elected Governor of Massachusetts for the year 1834, and was reëlected the following year. In 1835 the Legislature elected him United States Senator, which office he held for fourteen years. In the Senate his fame as an orator and statesman grew apace. A million copies were printed of his speech of 1840 in opposition to the sub-treasury. Likewise he earned the sobriquet of "Honest John Davis," which speaks for itself.

Governor Davis, as he was best known in after life, was a contemporary of Clay, Calhoun and Webster. It has been written in comparison: "If one reads for mere pleasure, he will be more gratified by the glowing fervor and sparkling wit of Clay, the subtle metaphysics of Calhoun, or the concise and demonstrative logic of Webster. But if he reads to gain a detailed knowledge of the question under debate, he will find Mr. Davis more instructive perhaps

than either, certainly more logical than Clay, more practical than Calhoun, and more minutely instructive than Webster."

Mr. Davis' mansion on Lincoln Street was a mecca of distinguished people of the day. It was there that Charles Dickens was entertained and as he afterwards wrote, watched the Sabbath break, and the church-goers traversing "the distant thread of road" on their way to worship. As years advanced the Governor led a quiet life, but with interests which broke the monotony of retirement, among them his orchard and garden, and the affairs of the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was the president.

Dorothea Lynde Dix, Who Made Humane the Care of the World's Insane, 1802-1887—Dorothea Lynde Dix was born in Maine, but passed her girlhood in Worcester and Boston. Much of her upbringing was in the home of her grandfather, Dr. Elijah Dix, on Court Hill, Worcester, a stern man, of powerful will and much ability. The girl's Boston life was in the Washington Street mansion of Madame Dix, her grandmother. Both homes were austere to the point of grimness.

Characteristic of Dr. Dix was his response to the threat of a lawless group of Worcester men whose enmity he had incurred. They plotted to waylay him by night and beat him, in the hope that they would drive him from the town. One evening a messenger called at his door and summoned him to the bedside of a person who, according to the caller, was desperately sick. Other members of the band lay in ambush. The doctor had been warned, but did not hesitate to accept the message at its face value. Throwing open a window, he called to his man, "Bring round my horse at once, double shot my pistols in the holsters, give the bulldog a piece of raw meat and turn him loose to go along." The intrepid doctor was not molested.

Young Dorothea was early seized with a desire to teach, and was only fourteen when she opened a private day school in Worcester, which met with success. The following year she opened a similar school in Boston, and this grew to be of considerable importance, and was profitable financially. Then the death of her grandmother left the girl with a small fortune which insured her well being throughout her lifetime. In the meanwhile, contact with the Emersons and William Ellery Channing had given her much which she had missed as a child and young girl.

It was in 1823 that she heard ot the deplorable condition of insane inmates of the Cambridge jail. Her visit to that institution which followed was the beginning of a crusade which was pursued with no abatement of zeal for many years, and which revolutionized the treatment of mental cases in almost every State in the Union, and to a large extent abroad. At Cambridge she

found much that was unspeakably horrible and cruel. For instance a demented white woman who was kept chained to a stake in the care of a malformed negro. She went to the newspapers with her stories of what she had seen and what their representatives would see were they to follow her example and investigate. She visited every jail and practically every almshouse in the Commonwealth, and assembled a vast mass of testimony and statistics which revealed beyond possibility of dispute the need of extremely radical changes. Armed with this material she memorialized the Massachusetts Legislature which did not delay long in bringing reforms. One of the first steps was the establishment of the Summer Street Insane Hospital, then known as the Worcester Lunatic Asylum. Instead of receiving treatment which men would not accord their beasts, the unfortunate mentally afflicted began to live in sanitary surroundings, in wholesome comfort, under medical care. Many a man and woman, believed to be incurably insane, responded to humane treatment and returned to the world as normal persons.

Miss Dix did not stop with her Massachusetts campaign. She traveled from State to State investigating conditions, reporting them to legislative bodies and arousing public sentiment. Seldom were her appeals denied. State after State established asylums. Her words were pregnant with truth.

"Go to your cells," she told the General Assembly of Mississippi, "and dungeons of your poorhouses and your jails. In imagination, for a short time, place yourselves in the condition of the imprisoned, neglected maniac; enter the horrid, noisome cell; invest your shrinking limbs with the foul, tattered garments which refuse a decent protection; cast yourselves upon the loathsome heaps of filthy straw; find companionship, if your drear solitude is ever broken, with the gibbering idiot, or the base criminal, the abandoned felon; listen to your own hideous shrieks and groans or to the cries and wailings of wretches as miserable as yourself; call for help and succor and release, for blessed words of soothing and kind offices of care, till the dull walls weary in sending back the echo of your moans: then, in recalling self-recollection, if the mind is not quite overcome under the imagined misery of what, alas! is real, long-suffered distress to others, return to the consciousness of your sound, intellectual health, and say if any exertions, and sacrifices, any labor, any cost, are too much or too great for arresting the strong, steady increase of insanity within your borders!"

The untiring reformer, in spite of a constitution frail from her girlhood, accomplished extraordinary feats of travel, for that day of the early railroads and the stagecoaches. In a letter she told of covering 32,470 miles in the period from June, 1844, to August, 1847—over 10,000 miles a year, in a series of pilgrimages from city to city, State capital to State capital. Her

crusade extended into the Canadian provinces, and in 1854 she was in the British Isles where she visited the institutions where the insane were kept. She persuaded the Scottish Parliament to establish adequate hospitals, and her influence was felt all through Great Britain in ameliorating the conditions surrounding mental patients.

Before she made this pilgrimage she suffered the great disappointment of her career. In 1848 she had petitioned Congress, asking for the grant of five million acres of public lands, the proceeds of the sale of which were to be set aside as a fund for the care of pauper insane, the income to be divided proportionately between the then thirty states on the basis of their population. Two years later she renewed her petition, but increased the desired land area to 12,225,000 acres, almost 20,000 square miles, of which ten million acres would be for the benefit of the insane, the balance for the blind and deaf and dumb. One would not have expected any Congress to grant so great an amount of land for any purpose, even in the days when the Nation owned immense areas of wild country. Yet so persuasive was this great reformer, that the measure passed both House and Senate by substantial majorities. Then came the bitter blow. The bill was vetoed by President Franklin Pierce as an unconstitutional measure.

Returned to America, Miss Dix set out on a campaign to get still larger State appropriations for her insane charges. In this way she happened to be in the South at the outbreak of the Civil War, which was a fortunate circumstance, or perhaps an act of Providence. For there she learned of the historic conspiracy, which included the seizure of the National capital and its archives, the assassination of President Lincoln, and the declaration that the Southern Confederacy was the government de facto of the United States. Miss Dix revealed her secret to Samuel M. Felton, a prominent railroad man, Federal agents and Pinkerton detectives corroborated every word she had spoken and the plot was frustrated. President Lincoln was transported to Washington with protective measures carried through with infinite care, and the conspirators fled in terror from the city of Baltimore where the Great Emancipator was to have been murdered.

Miss Dix next offered her services to the War Department as a nurse. Instead she was made superintendent of nurses for the entire army, a post of greatest responsibility and unceasing labor. Hanging in Memorial Hall at Harvard University are two great flags, which were bequeathed to the university under Dorothea Dix's will. She had refused all money offered her for her war services. So Secretary of War Stanton had these flags especially made and presented them to her as a token of the Nation's appreciation of what she had done for her country.

Alice Morse Earle, Writer on Old New England, 1851-1911—Alice Morse Earle, pioneer student of the social and domestic life of Colonial New England, and author of a long series of books in which the results of her patient and long-continued research are set forth, was born in Worcester as Alice Morse. She was educated in the Worcester High School and Dr. Gannett's School at Boston, and at the age of twenty-two married Henry Earle of Brooklyn, New York.

She was still a girl when, unknown to her family, she sent her first story, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England* to the *Youths' Companion.* It was promptly accepted, and was afterwards printed in elaborated form in the *Atlantic Monthly,* and again as a book under the same name, which made one of the record sales of its year.

Her other books are *China Collecting in America* (1892); *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (1893); *Diary of a Boston School Girl,* written by Anna Green Winslow and edited by Mrs. Earle (1894); *Costumes of Colonial Times* (1894); *Margaret Winthrop* (1895); *Colonial Dames and Good-wives* (1895); *Curious Punishments of By-Gone Days* (1896); *Colonial Days in Old New York* (1896); *In Old Narragansett* (1896); *Home Life in Colonial Days* (1898); *Child Life in Colonial Days* (1899); *Stage Coach and Tavern Days* (1900); *Old-Time Gardens* (1902); *Sun Dials and Roses of Yesterday* (1902); and *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (1903).

Rear Admiral Ralph Earle, U. S. N., Chief of Ordnance in World War, Originator and Designer of Railroad Guns, and Father of North Sea Barrage, 1874—Rear Admiral Ralph Earle, U. S. N. Retired, president of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute from 1925, and Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance from December 26, 1916, until after the close of the World War (May 3, 1920), was born in Worcester, and graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1896. He saw active service in the Spanish War, as navigating officer of the converted yacht *Hornet,* which was stationed throughout the entire war in Cuban waters and participated in the two battles of Manzanillo. His long naval career was a distinguished one, including the posts of commander of the Naval Torpedo Station at Newport, the Naval Proving Ground at Indian Head, Maryland, and command of the battleship *Connecticut.* Its culmination was his service as Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance during the entire period of participation by the United States in the World War. The citation which accompanied his award of the Navy Distinguished Service Medal suggests the greatness of his accomplishments, which played no insignificant part in the successful conduct of the war:

"For exceptionally meritorious service in a duty of great responsibility as Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. In this capacity he accomplished the origination of the mine barrage across the North Sea known as the Northern Barrage, the making of a type of mine entirely new to mining warfare, the conception and execution of the fourteen-inch navy railway battery operations carried out in France, the supply of a safe and reliable depth charge in sufficient quantities and on time, and other Naval Ordnance projects carried out during the World War."

Admiral Earle conceived the Northern Barrage which would completely block the North Sea from Scotland to the Norway coast against the passage of German submarines and other craft. A secondary short barrage at the Straits of Dover would close the only other entrance from the North Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. The problem of an efficient, dependable mine, which must be of a revolutionarily new type, was beset with difficulties, and time was short. It was the spring of 1917. Looking backward, it seems incredible that these Navy men, in so short a period, could have carried through the study, design and test which resulted in filling all the difficult requirements, among them quick-loading mine cases, anchors adapted for use in far greater depths of water than any hitherto contemplated (in places 1,100 feet), and of greater ruggedness and reliability; an assembly of anchor and mine which permitted their planting as a unit, accurately and at high speeds; and a firing device widening the danger zone of each mine, so that it would explode not only when struck by a submarine, but also when a submarine passed close by. The manufacture of one hundred thousand of these mine units was accomplished in a manner to insure complete secrecy, for the parts were distributed among a hundred factories. The assembling followed, and the loading of each case with three hundred pounds of TNT, and the delivery to the mine bases on the Scottish coast. The mine laying, in coöperation with the British Navy, began in the summer of 1918. In October the last mine was in place. The barrage was completed—two hundred and thirty miles long, and from fifteen to thirty-five miles wide. The cost to the United States was $80,000,000. It was a most profitable investment, for seventeen German submarines were destroyed, and the imprisonment of the rest of the submarine fleet saved many an Allied ship from ruthless destruction. Moreover, the Northern Barrage, and its small counterpart in the Straits of Dover, contributed much to the breaking down of the morale of the German submarine crews, and to the greater mutiny later, which prevented a proposed last desperate sortie of the German Grand Fleet.

The supplying of the Navy with depth charges with which to carry on against the submarines, was another great responsibility vested in the Bureau of Ordnance. The British had developed a depth charge, but the bureau did

not consider it safe, under the American Navy standard. Without delay an improved type was designed, and large scale manufacture begun, and prompt delivery made overseas to the craft which were engaged in this branch of warfare.

The 14-inch Naval Railway Batteries, which worked devastatingly against strategic positions far back of the German front were exclusively Admiral Earle's idea. During the summer of 1917 he became convinced that a way must be found by means of very powerful long-range naval guns not only to reply to the Leugenboom batteries which were bombarding Dunkirk, but also to bombard German supply and concentration positions behind the front and thus effectively hinder the enemy's preparations for attack. To fulfill the mission and be absolutely effective, it was evident that the batteries must be, in the first place, completely mobile, and, secondly, entirely independent not only of any artillery base but of all other organizations. Not only the guns themselves, but the rolling repair shops, the cars for the machine shops, ammunition, cranes and wireless outfits, as well as the barracks for the personnel, must form an absolutely self-sustaining unit, capable of going anywhere and operating with highest effectiveness without the help of any other organization, either American or Allied, excepting as regards French railways. To provide such a unit was the problem. The 50-caliber 14-inch guns for such a new novel mounting were available, having a range up to twenty-four miles.

Admiral Earle made sketch plans in the early morning at home, before entering upon the exacting duties of his office hours. His idea was accepted, the work of design proceeded rapidly, and five of these huge guns were mounted on trucks, and the rest of the five battery trains, armor plated throughout, were made ready. The first left St. Nazaire on August 18, 1918, the second left the next day, and in September all were on the front.

The first train proceeded to the French proving ground to demonstrate its shooting ability to a group of Allied artillery experts. A target was given it, eighteen miles distant. Four shots were fired. The shells landed within a stone throw of one another at the target. "Waste no more ammunition," cried the French General in command. "Go fire against the Germans!"

In the closing months of the war the naval guns moved from one position to another, variously distributed between the French and American armies. Time and again their great shells caused demoralization in areas which had been beyond the range of the most powerful Allied cannon. Important railroad centers, points of concentration of troops and supplies, were made untenable. An enormous ammunition dump was quickly destroyed. The climax of destructive usefulness came in the final campaign. The Metz-Sedan railroad, paralleling the front, and well beyond any previous artillery

range, was indispensable to the German army, for it permitted the quick movement of troops from one point to another as demanded. If the line could be cut, irreparable injury could be inflicted. This three of the batteries stationed at Verdun proceeded to do, by bombarding two towns, Longuyon and Montmedy, each of which had a great railroad yard, as well as warehouses and barracks and aviation hangars. The damage inflicted was terrific. The strategic value of the line was destroyed. The three trains were engaged in this bombardment when the Armistice was declared. The last shot was fired at 10.57.30 A. M. on that historic day, timed to reach its target a few seconds before 11 o'clock.

Such was Admiral Earle's career in the navy. He closed it to return to his native city to become the president of its famous engineering school.

Father James Fitton, Worcester County's First Catholic Priest, Who Laid the Foundations upon Which Holy Cross College was Established, 1803-1881—Father James Fitton was born in Boston, in a house which stood on the site of the recently vacated Federal Building at Milk and Devonshire streets. As a lad he drove his father's cows to and from the Common, then a public pasture. He attended the public schools, and a New Hampshire academy, and studied theology in Boston. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1827. The Fittons, of Welsh and English stock, had worshipped in their first years in Boston as members of a flock of one hundred Catholics. When the young clergyman entered upon his life's work there were but seven Catholic priests in all New England.

Father Fitton immediately took on the arduous duties of a missionary in a country the larger part of which was but thinly populated. His life was that of a pioneer and had much of privation. Time and again he traveled far to hold service in remote settlements. He went among the Passamaquoddy Indians, whom he deemed to be in sore need of spiritual help. Much of his missionary work was in Connecticut and Vermont, and it is pleasant to read in his memoirs not only of the eagerness of members of his own faith to hear mass, but of the cordiality displayed to him by the New England Protestants, especially in Vermont, who frequently placed at his disposal the village schoolhouse or town house, or even their meetinghouse.

In 1835 he was sent to Worcester, where he celebrated the first Mass in the shop of a mechanic, and preached his first sermon in the old Elephant Tavern. He built a church, and before the roof was on celebrated Mass there. It is related that during the Elevation of the Sacred Host a heavy shower came up, and three men of the congregation came forward and held umbrellas over the good priest as he moved to and fro during the Holy Sacrifice. No one of the drenched congregation thought to move to a place of shelter.

It was an important event in the history of New England colleges when Father Fitton purchased a large tract of land on Pakachoag Hill, in the southern part of Worcester. He renamed the eminence Mt. St. James, in honor of his patron, and in 1840 erected an academy building and established the Seminary of St. James, for the education of young men. Bishop Fenwick became deeply interested in the school, and so did the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. In 1842 Father Fitton presented land and building to the Bishop, who established there the College of the Holy Cross. Its academic direction he placed with the Jesuit fathers from Georgetown University at Washington, District of Columbia, and it has remained a Jesuit institution ever since. From the small beginning made by Father Fitton and afterward by Bishop Fenwick has grown one of the great Catholic colleges of America. There the students gather for assembly in Fenwick Hall, and play their games on Fitton Field.

Father Fitton rounded out his life in pastoral duties, first in Providence, Rhode Island, and for the last quarter century of his long life as pastor of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer at East Boston. He rests in Holy Cross Cemetery, Malden, where was carried out a last wish, that "When I die, bury me where God's sunshine will fall on me."

Edward Howe Forbush, Ornithologist and Author, 1858-1929—Edward Howe Forbush, for over thirty-five years State Ornithologist of Massachusetts, and author of the monumental work *Birds of Massachusetts and Other New England States,* was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, where his father was teaching at the time. But he was of a Westboro family and there made his home in the latter years of his life.

He was a naturalist from boyhood, and in his young manhood passed in Worcester was curator of the Natural History Museum. He was an active figure in the campaign against the Gypsy moth, and in other work of economic ornithology, and in 1893 was made the State Ornithologist in the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture which office he held until shortly before his death. He contributed largely to the literature of the birds, including their economics. His great work was his *Birds of Massachusetts and Other New England States* in three volumes, published by the State, in which every bird, native and visitant, is not only described technically and popularly, but is shown in colored plates by two eminent painter specialists, Louis Agassiz Fuertes and Allan Brooks. Upon Mr. Forbush's retirement the Advisory Board of the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture had a gold medal struck for him, for "Outstanding Achievements in Economic Ornithology." After his death, the New England Federation of Bird Clubs established the Edward Howe Forbush Sanctuary in the Berkshire Hills, which is a large tract of wild country dedicated for all time to bird life.

Dwight Foster, Jurist and United States Senator, 1757-1823—Dwight Foster was born in Brookfield, son of Judge Jedediah Foster, himself distinguished as a lawyer. He graduated from Brown University in 1774, and studied law in his brother's office at Providence, and was admitted to the bar there in 1778. But following his father's death shortly afterward, he moved back to Brookfield. He served as sheriff of the county and in both branches of the Legislature, was a Federalist member of Congress from 1793 to 1799, and a member of the United States Senate from 1800 to 1803, when he resigned the office. For ten years he was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Daniel Gookin, Founder of Worcester. Friend of the Indians. Important Figure in the Larger Affairs of the Colonies. Harborer of the Regicides, 1612-1687—The name of Daniel Gookin will always be closely associated with that of Worcester city and, to a lesser extent, of Worcester County. He was the real founder of Worcester, the strong, experienced man of the world, who dominated wisely the pioneers who hit upon Quinsigamond for their future township and home. As superintendent of the Praying Indians and close associate of John Eliot, their "Apostle," his influence was widely felt through all the Nipmuck country, including the few already settled towns. In the early chapters of this book he is at times a conspicuous figure. But the romance of a long life, containing many large adventures, intimate contacts with the great characters of the day, as for instance, Oliver Cromwell and the Regicides, Goffe and Whalley, and an important part in the greater affairs of the Colonies, deserves more than an incidental place in a narrative history of Worcester County.

In telling the story of this sturdy man we are gleaning facts and quoting extracts from a paper presented by his descendant, Charles Taylor Tatman of Worcester, to the Worcester Historical Society, some years ago. Daniel's grandfather, John Gookin, a man of wealth and prominence, bought the Manor of Ripple, in the county of Kent, in the year 1600. His son, the first Daniel, spent his late boyhood there, and in 1616 followed his adventurous brother, Vincent, to Ireland, and there purchased the castle and lands of Carrigalene, on the coast near Cork.

He became a shareholder of the Virginia Company, and in 1620 engaged in shipping cattle to Virginia, and we read of his arrival there in the good ship *Flying Harte,* carrying provisions and cattle, thirty passengers and a crew of fifty men. All this company he established at Newport News, where suitable grants of land were made them. There followed shortly the widespread massacre of whites by the Indians, but when Captain John Smith ordered the abandonment of all outlying plantations, Gookin and his company refused

obeyance, preferring to defend themselves, if attacked, behind their palisades and trenches. Returning to England, Gookin was granted a patent of 2,500 acres of land at Newport News. We give this brief sketch because of the bearing of this period of his life on the early career of his son, the second Daniel.

He enters our story in 1630, when he was living in Newport News. In 1634 the court at London granted him the land which had been promised his father, and with his wife and infant son he set sail with the intention of making a permanent residence in Virginia. Probably he was already a Puritan, though most of the Virginia settlers were members of the Church of England. He was promptly made a burgess, and took part in the legislative proceedings of the Grand Assembly at Jamestown. He was made a captain of "trayned bands." To quote Mr. Tatman:

"Captain Gookin found among his neighbors a considerable number of Puritan families. He joined in signing and sending a letter in 1642 to Massachusetts Bay, asking that ministers be sent them. Accordingly, Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, and Rev. John Knowles of Watertown, were sent to Virginia, where their coming was hailed with delight by Gookin and his companions, but was strangely resented by the royal Governor Berkeley, who lost no time in procuring the enactment of a law forbidding ministers not of the Church of England to preach or teach, and instructing the Governor and Council to compel all non-conformists 'to depart the colony with all convenience.' For a while the ministers managed to work with the people in their homes, but very soon they were put on board ship and packed back to Boston.

"Gookin found it unpleasant to live in Virginia by reason of this law and the prevailing church sentiment, and so migrated to Maryland, where he dwelt for about a year. While Governor Calvert, a Roman Catholic, was tolerant in his treatment of all settlers of whatever religious denominations, Gookin preferred to live among those of his own faith, and so, with his family, set sail for New England, arriving in Boston, May 20, 1644.

"Gookin was therefore about thirty-two years old when he settled in New England. Within ten days of his landing he was made a member of the First Church of Boston, and a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His family resided for four years in Roxbury, and were near neighbors and intimate friends of Rev. John Eliot. Gookin is described as being 'tall in stature and robust in physique; in bearing grave and dignified.'

"Gookin appears to have retained his Virginia and Maryland properties for some years and to have engaged in coastwise shipping between New England and Virginia. He is said to have been elected to the General Court during his four years residence in Roxbury. In 1648 he removed to Cam-

bridge, where he bought a house on a street then called 'Crooked,' but now Holyoke Street, on the site now occupied by the Hasty Pudding Club. The town later, in 1649, made him a grant of five hundred acres of land for a farm, at the same time granting the same area to Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College. Gookin was promptly after his arrival made captain of the Cambridge train-band. In 1649 he became a member of the General Court from Cambridge, and in 1651 was chosen speaker. In the same year he was made an associate of the county court, held at Cambridge, and in the next year, 1652, he was elected an assistant, that is, a member of the council of eighteen magistrates who were, with the Governor and the Deputy Governor, administrators of the government of the Colony, and dispensers of justice. To this high office he was continuously elected for thirty-five years, with the exception of one year, 1676, when his friendliness for the Indians met with popular disapprobation.

"In 1655 Gookin appears to have made a voyage to England, partly for the purpose of settling the estate of his brother, Edward, who had died there. The English revolution had taken place and Oliver Cromwell was Lord Protector. Daniel's cousin, Vincent Gookin, was a member of Parliament and was in the midst of his great struggle to prevent the wholesale banishment of the Irish people which had been proposed.

"Cromwell was a mighty military leader and a statesman who looked far beyond the seas, and especially to the West Indies, in his ambitions for English preferment. His fleets had failed to conquer Santo Domingo, then in the hands of the Spaniards, but had succeeded in capturing Jamaica. Cromwell was wishing to colonize the island of Jamaica, and, learning of Gookin's presence in England, sent for him and proposed that Gookin should manage a migration of settlers from New England to Jamaica. Gookin argued against the proposal, saying that the settlers in New England had made great progress in establishing themselves, after suffering tremendous hardships, and that he did not believe they would care to leave what they had won and tempt fortune in a strange clime and in the midst of new and unknown dangers.

"However, Cromwell insisted that the attempt be made, and Gookin was authorized by the Council of State to undertake what was called a 'transplantation' of English Colonists in New England to Jamaica. In a long letter of instructions to Gookin the Council made the following alluring agreement to prospective emigrants:

'Out of love and affection to themselves and the fellow feeling Wee have always had of the difficulties and necessities they have been put to contest with ever since they were driven from the land of their Nativity into that Desert and barren Wilderness from their Consciences sake which wee could not but make manifest at this tyme when as Wee thinke an opportunity is

offered for their enlargement and removing them out of a hard Countrye into a Land of plenty.'

"Gookin returned to America and got out circulars and tried to stimulate an interest in the proposal from England in regard to the migration to Jamaica, but the reports from Jamaica had been so unpleasant as to the unhealthful climate and the troubles made by Indians, negroes, and Spaniards, that he could make no headway, so he duly reported in several communications. Finally the idea was abandoned.

"Gookin went to England again in 1659 'about some special concerns' as he says in a letter, but the nature of which he does not disclose. At any rate, he was soon employed as collector of customs at Dunkirk, which had fallen into the hands of the English. And immediately after he was made 'Deputy Treasurer at War, to reside at Dunkirk, and receive and pay all moneys for the forces there, and also for contingencies, that the accounts may be better kept, and he is to be responsible for all, and communicate the state of affairs as occasion requires.'

"This post probably had to be vacated on account of the approaching Restoration of Charles II to the throne, and Gookin left England for the last time, having as fellow-passengers the celebrated regicides, Goffe and Whalley. They took up their temporary residence in Cambridge, probably at the home of Daniel Gookin, but were obliged to leave and hide themselves in the western wilderness, where, though hunted long, they were never found by the King's officers.

"The Puritans of New England were never again enthusiastically submissive to royal authority, and while their magistrates were compelled to take the oath of allegiance, the Archives of Massachusetts present the following record in regard to our subject: 'Daniel Gookin, before he took the oath of allegiance in Court, May 24th, 1665, did openly and plainly declare that in taking that oath he would be so understood as not to infringe the liberty and privileges granted in his Majesty's royal charter to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, whereof he is a member, and unto which he is sworn formerly. Boston the 24th of May, 1665. Daniel Gookin.'

"This spirit of liberty and standing on their rights against royal encroachments subjected the people of New England to the visit of a commission sent by the English government to enforce subjection on the part of the Colonists. The General Court named a committee consisting of the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, and four others, including Daniel Gookin, to deal with the same matters on behalf of the people.

"The English commissioners had a long investigation, which amounted to nothing, except that there was an exchange of opinions, the Colonists renewed

so much of their allegiance as was consistent with their liberties, and matters went on as before. Among other things the commissioners reported to the King that Goffe and Whalley had been everywhere entertained and feasted after they were told they were traitors and ought to be apprehended; that Gookin had harbored them in Cambridge and had furnished them with horses and a guide on their departure, for which offences the commissioners had seized Gookin's cattle for his Majesty's use, but as Gookin had refused to answer before the commissioners, no more was done about it.

"The outbreak of King Philip's War, in the summer of 1675, was foretold in the spring of that year, through a warning given to Gookin. The latter tried in vain to induce the Colonists to prepare with defensive measures, and to make use of 'the fidelity and integrity of the praying Indians.' The war went on, and some of the praying Indians backslid into their savagery. But Gookin and Eliot were patient, and tried to secure sane and just treatment of the Indian problems. Still, the popular mind was so inflamed that these gentlemen were hardly safe from violence in the streets, and in 1676 Gookin was dropped from his office as an assistant, but after one year's absence from the bench he was triumphantly returned in 1677.

"It was in 1681 that Daniel Gookin was made Major General of the Colony, that is, its highest military officer. He retained the office for five years, until the abrogation of the Colony's charter, in 1686 by James II. It was the independence of thought and spirit of such men as Daniel Gookin and Samuel Danforth that not only brought down the royal wrath, but also implanted and fertilized the seeds of liberty in the souls of the people of Massachusetts. A single quotation from a State paper signed by Gookin will serve to illustrate the courage of his mind. Said he: 'I verily believe that so gracious a prince as our king is will be very slow to deal so severely against his poor loyal subjects that are not conscious we have showed any disloyalty to him or his predecessors, nor have been unwilling to obey him in the Lord. But when the case is so circumstanced that we must be accounted offenders or ruin ourselves, of two evils the least is to be chosen.'

"At the time of the naming of Worcester, Gookin was an old man, 73 years of age, but still active in his Indian ministrations. He still resided in Cambridge, and never dwelt in Worcester, although at the time of his death, in 1687, he was the owner of 236 acres of land here. This land did not stay in the Gookin name. Daniel Gookin was buried in the churchyard of the First Church of Cambridge, across Harvard Square from the gates of the University, where a memorial to him now stands.

"Daniel Gookin's seventh child, Samuel, became High Sheriff of Suffolk County, and afterwards of Middlesex. It was to this son, Samuel, that he

left by his will his rapier and other articles intended to become heirlooms. This son Samuel had a son, Daniel Gookin, third, who became the first High Sheriff of Worcester County on its establishment in 1731. The sword or rapier has been handed down to me (Mr. Tatman), together with a cane also used by the sheriff.

"So we have three Daniel Gookins. The first was the early settler of Virginia; the second, his son, who migrated from Virginia to Massachusetts and became Major General; and the third, grandson of the second, who was the first High Sheriff of Worcester County."

John B. Gough, Internationally Famous Temperance Lecturer, 1817-1886—John B. Gough, one of the greatest temperance advocates and lecturers, was born in England, but Boylston was his home for forty years. A drunkard during his young manhood, he finally drifted to Worcester, where the Washington Temperance Movement was at its height, and was induced to take the pledge. There followed a period of struggle against the habit, which he finally conquered. Then, in 1843, he entered the lecture field, and became one of the most powerful apostles of the cause of temperance, continuing the work until he dropped dead while lecturing in Frankford, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Gough's birthplace was Sandgate, near Dover. His father was a veteran of the Peninsular War and his mother a schoolmistress of the village. He was only six years old when he was sent to a seminary at Folkstone, a few miles from his home village. At the age of twelve, in 1829, he came to America with a family from Sandgate, and settled with them on a farm in Oneida County, New York. Two years later he went to New York City, and became errand boy and apprentice in the book-binding trade with the Methodist Book concern. There followed his contracting of the alcohol habit, a roaming from place to place, and eventually the fortunate circumstance at Worcester which resulted in his reformation.

As a lecturer he quickly sprang into great popularity. He possessed a rare eloquence, a keen sense of humor, a profound knowledge of human nature as it entered into his audiences. His fame spread abroad, and in 1853 he went to England at the invitation of the London Temperance League and remained in Great Britain for two years. He spoke in the important centers of England, Wales, and Scotland. In Edinburgh seventeen thousand people flocked to hear him. The London Temperance Society presented him with a silver service.

He visited Breat Britain again in 1877, and spent three years in England and Ireland. In England alone he made three hundred and ninety addresses

to more than five hundred thousand people, and secured twelve thousand signatures to the pledge. In his long career he gave eight thousand five hundred and sixty-seven lectures, and on his tours traveled half a million miles. More than a million copies of his lectures were sold and over one hundred thousand copies of his autobiography. For years, when he was at home at his beautiful estate "Hillside" in Boylston, it was the mecca of journeys by many great men and women.

Andrew Haswell Green, Father of Greater New York, 1820-1903—Andrew H. Green, born on Green Hill, the family estate in Worcester, earned for himself the enduring name of "Father of Greater New York." He studied at Worcester Academy and fitted for West Point, but finally entered the employ of a New York mercantile house. After one business trip to the West Indies, the young man determined to become a lawyer, and to that end entered the office of Samuel J. Tilden, whose partner he afterward became. It was largely because of the intimate association of these men that New York in a later year, secured the famous Tilden Library.

Andrew Green's public service of nearly half a century began when he was elected a member of the Board of Education in 1856. Two years later he was appointed a commissioner of Central Park, an office created for him, carrying with it the management of the park, then a crude expanse of country land. This was the beginning of the colossal task of planning and laying out the upper end of Manhattan as an orderly undertaking, with full regard to a future which has now been attained. Bridges were built under his direction. Lofty Washington Bridge which spans the Harlem is regarded as a monument to his enterprise and genius. Boulevards were laid out.

In 1871 New York was in the hands of the Tweed Ring, and Andrew Green was elected comptroller. He found the city's finances in a deplorable condition. On his own responsibility he raised half a million dollars from the banks and with it reëstablished the credit of New York City. He was an active and belligerent factor in smashing the corrupt group of politicians which had had the great city in its clutches.

In 1890 he was appointed by special act of the Legislature to plan for the North River Bridge. And all the time he was working to the end of a Greater New York. As the project came up for action, bitter opposition developed, before the Legislature and at the polls, in press and pulpit. He was frequently attacked, and his motives questioned. But he won his long fight. Greater New York became a reality in 1898, and a gold medal in honor of its "Father" was struck for the city and presented to him. His work had not ended. He was an influential factor in planning for the New York Zoölogical Gardens, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of

Natural History. His death was a great tragedy—shot down by a demented negro, who mistook him for his next-door neighbor, Russell Sage. Green Hill Park in Worcester, comprising the entire estate which was his birthplace and summer home, is yet another monument to his memory.

Edward Everett Hale, Author, Reformer, Eminent Unitarian Divine, Founder of the Lend-a-Hand, Friend of Oppressed Peoples, 1822-1909—Edward Everett Hale was not of a Worcester County family, but, as pastor of the Church of the Unity, he spent ten important years of the formative period of his adult life in Worcester, where he closely identified himself with its people and institutions. He was born in Boston, the son of Nathan Hale, proprietor of the *Boston Advertiser,* and a founder of the *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner,* and, in strange contrast, builder of the Boston and Worcester Railroad. His mother was a sister of Edward Everett. He entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen, graduated in 1839, and studied theology. His first pastorate was in Worcester, where he settled in 1846. Ten years later he was called to the famous South Church of Boston, where he remained as pastor until 1898. For some years afterwards he was chaplain of the United States Senate.

It was in his decade in Worcester that Dr. Hale became so deeply interested in the cause of anti-slavery and became a militant promoter of the Kansas Crusade. There, too, he became a pioneer champion of an international court to insure world peace, and an advocate of civil service reform. Asked to become a member of the Worcester School Committee, he answered that he would rather serve as an overseer of the poor, and a place was made for him on that board. It is believed that the idea which eventuated as the Lend-a-hand movement took root in his mind while he lived in Worcester. He was a founder of the Worcester Natural History Society and the Worcester Free Public Library.

Great fame came to him as an author. The best known of his many stories is *The Man without a Country,* but others of his literary works are as worthy of the man, and are still read, as they will be for generations to come.

Dr. Russell L. Hawes, Inventor, 1823-1867—Dr. Russell L. Hawes, inventor of the machine which revolutionized the manufacture of envelopes, was a native of Leominster. He graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1845, and practiced his profession for a short time in Worcester. He became interested in the envelope industry, then in its infancy, and conceived an idea for a machine which would manufacture envelopes and thus reduce their cost. With this end in view, he entered the employ of Goddard, Rice & Company, manufacturers of paper-making machinery at Worcester.

Visiting New York he saw the first hand-made envelopes produced in America, and, representing his firm in Europe, he examined an envelope-folding machine in operation. Returning to Worcester, he built a machine embodying his own invention, for which a patent was issued to him in 1853.

Dr. Hawes established an envelope factory, where his one machine came to produce for him from ten thousand to twelve thousand envelopes daily. It was believed that this capacity would never be much improved upon, yet half a century later the self-gumming plunger folding machines were producing as many envelopes per hour as the Hawes machine produced in a day, and more envelopes were being manufactured in Worcester than in any other city in the world. Out of the Hawes factory evolved the W. H. Hill Envelope Company, now the W. H. Hill Division of the United States Envelope Company.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Soldier, Reformer, Historian, Essayist, 1823-1911—Colonel Higginson belongs to Worcester County, not by birth nor by lifelong residence, but because it was his home in the critically formative years of his life. It was in Worcester that he entered upon a distinguished literary career. In this period was born in him the intense zeal in the Anti-Slavery cause that led to his active, enthusiastic leadership in the Kansas Crusade, as an organizer and then as a brigadier-general of the Free Soil forces of the embattled territory. With the outbreak of the Civil War his first enlistment was in a Worcester County regiment, in which he received the training which permitted his selection later as colonel of the 33d United States colored regiment, the first regiment of slaves to be mustered into the United States Army.

Born in Cambridge, educated at Harvard College and Divinity School, he had been pastor of the Congregational Church at Newburyport before coming to Worcester in 1852, at the age of twenty-nine. He was called to become pastor of the Free Church, a congregation of advanced religious thinkers, which had no meetinghouse and held its services in public halls.

In his *Cheerful Yesterdays* Colonel Higginson tells delightfully of his fondness for his adopted city, as follows:

"Worcester was so important to me as a means of development, my connection with the Worcester of fifty years ago was so active and varied, and I was connected with so many of its early enterprises, that it has always remained near my heart. My old friend, Dr. Hale, has described the Worcester of that period by calling it 'a western settlement in the Heart of Massachusetts.' Its business life, its social life and its intellectual life were all springing up together, and I had even before that time just enough childish recollection of it to feel myself not wholly a stranger there. I still remember

with delight certain drives I took thither in early childhood with my father, Stephen Higginson, whose first wife had been a Salisbury, and who so cherished his connection with the old Worcester families that he named my elder brother Waldo, a name transmitted to my daughter. Our visits there were made primarily that he might call on the Misses Waldo, and I might play with their celebrated kittens. My subsequent life there accordingly seemed to connect itself with the old maidenly household, although my reputation for serious radicalism might justly have led the descendants of those kittens sometimes to show their claws.

"The society of Worcester was, at the time I removed there (1852) singularly agreeable. The town was becoming very prosperous and yet retained its simplicity of tone. There was a circle of very cultivated and active-minded people who worked hard and were thrifty, and yet counted wealth as a secondary thing. Even the aristocracy of employment counted for very little. Some of the most cultivated families were employed in mechanical occupations and made their workshops the very centers of wit and humor. There were the traditions of an earlier aristocracy of birth, but it counted for very little because those who represented it readily accepted the prevailing tone. There was a great deal of pleasant outdoor life and indoor intercourse and great public and private activity.

"It seems to me on looking back, that innumerable enterprises were undertaken, and that I had a hand in almost all of them. There was a Free Church, for instance, the first of various organizations of the kind that were started in Massachusetts in the spirit and on the platform of Theodore Parker, who was still under condemnation as a heretic. Then I served on the school committee, helped organize the Public Library and the Natural History Society, was president of a gymnastic club, a cricket club, a skating club and various minor organizations. It is a wonder that I did not belong to a volunteer engine company, such as then existed everywhere, and I was indeed elected an honorary member of 'Tiger Engine Company, No. 6,' and was only prevented from accepting the appointment by the fact that the Tigers got into a general fight meanwhile and were disbanded by the city fathers.

"At any rate, when the storm of the Civil War approached, I was found to have popularity enough among the younger generation in Worcester to enlist without difficulty a company in the 51st Massachusetts, and afterward I learned, as I have always thought, from that admirable officer, now General A. B. R. Sprague, enough of the rudiments of military life to carry me through two years of actual service without discredit.

"During my absence at the front, my wife removed to Newport, Rhode Island, for her health and I ceased with some regret to be a resident of Worcester.

"It was during my life in Worcester that my literary career, such as it is, began. It dates back, properly speaking, to a paper in the *Atlantic Monthly,* March, 1858, entitled, 'Saints and Their Bodies.' After this there followed a number of papers on outdoor life and pursuits, the scene of all of which was laid in the vicinity of Worcester, and which included *April Days, Water Lilies, My Outdoor Study, The Procession of the Flowers, The Life of Birds, Gymnastics,* and others which were published subsequently under the name of *Outdoor Papers* in a variety of editions."

George Frisbie Hoar, Statesman, Scholar, Orator, Wit, United States Senator, 1826-1904—George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts was an outstanding figure in American public life through a long period of years which ended soon after the coming of the twentieth century. He achieved distinction in the practice of his profession of the law. He won fame as a statesman and legislator, as a scholar and an orator. Many honors came to him. He served his Worcester district in the National House of Representatives for seven years, and the State of Massachusetts in the United States Senate for twenty-seven years, until his death in 1904. Twice he declined a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Both President Hayes and President McKinley urged upon him the distinguished office of Ambassador to England, but as he had no considerable private fortune, in each instance he was compelled to put aside what would have been a most congenial interlude in his career, for he had many friendships among English statesmen, judges and scholars. He ranked high in the esteem of great educational and historical institutions, and occupied important places in their counsels. His was a full life. Its usefulness to his country and to his fellowmen could hardly be exaggerated.

Mr. Hoar was born in Concord, in which, and in the neighboring town of Lincoln, were the homes of his forebears. From both the paternal and maternal sides of his house his intellectual and moral inheritance was most unusual. His ancestors on the Hoar side from the early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were men of action and courage, humane and always in advance of their times, but never so radical as to be parted in sympathy from their contemporaries. John Hoar, ancestor in direct line, was one of three brothers who came to Massachusetts from Gloucestershire, England, among the early Colonists. He was a friend and co-laborer of John Eliot, apostle of the Indians. It was he who went through the wilderness with only a praying Indian as companion, bearing the ransom for Mary Rowlandson, captive of Lancaster, and braving the horde of defeated and angry Indians at Redemption Rock in Princeton. His brother, Leonard Hoar, was among the first presidents of Harvard College.

ROGERS-KENNEDY MEMORIAL CHAPEL, RURAL CEMETERY, WORCESTER

On the 19th of April, 1775, the Senator's grandfather and two great-grandfathers, and three of his father's uncles were at Concord Bridge with the Lincoln Company, of which his grandfather was lieutenant.

Senator Hoar's father, Samuel Hoar, was one of the great lawyers of Massachusetts, contemporary of Webster, Choate and Mason. He served in Congress, and Massachusetts chose him to journey to Charleston and protect in the courts of South Carolina colored citizens who were unjustly imprisoned there. But he was not permitted to discharge his mission, but was expelled from Charleston by force.

The Senator's mother was the youngest daughter of Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and could remember as a child sitting on the knees of George Washington. Roger Sherman was a very great man, and the only American whose signature is attached to the four great State papers, the Association of 1774, the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. George Frisbie Hoar illustrated full well the meaning of Emerson's words, when he said: "We are quotations from our ancestors."

These details of the Senator's inheritance are important in placing him as the type of public man, rare in his day, who started life with every advantage of family and intellectual environment, and took full advantage of his opportunities. His beginnings were in violent contrast with those of many of his great contemporaries, who achieved success in spite of the absence of all that was given the Massachusetts Senator. He was the cultured scholar, one who, with hardly a doubt, would have won fame even had he not entered upon a political career. He was a lover of the best in literature, both English and classical. He was a wit and master of repartee, in which quotations out of the vast store of his memory played no unimportant part. It was characteristic of him that he knew almost by heart his Bible and the Pilgrim's Progress, and liked to draw from them apt words to illustrate his point.

Few of his associates in his long years in House and Senate liked to cross swords with him in forensic retort, for it was not often that he came out second best in these encounters. His contemporaries at Washington did not have to wait long to learn that a man to be reckoned with had come among them. One day S. S. Cox, "Sunset" as he was known, acknowledged wit of the House, undertook to badger the new member by carping at Massachusetts. Cox turned to the veteran Dawes and bade him come to the defense of the Bay State Commonwealth. "Troy," he declared, "was defended by Hector, yet Troy fell." Quoth Congressman Hoar, "Troy did not need her Hector to repel an attack led by Thersites."

These incidents for the most part were friendly and kindly. Senator Hoar's nature was not one to enjoy inflicting wounds. Yet, on occasion, a shaft of biting wit administered effectual, even stern rebuke. But his friends in Congress were many, and his enemies, excepting as political foes, were few.

After his school days passed in an environment which in that day could not have been duplicated in America, the young man entered Harvard College from which he was graduated in 1846. He studied law at the Harvard Law School and in the office of Judge Benjamin Thomas in Worcester. There, following his admission to the bar in 1849 he began practice in Worcester, which remained his home through the rest of a long life. His partnerships were with Judge Emory Washburn, General, afterwards Supreme Court Judge Charles Devens, and J. Henry Hill. He rapidly rose in his profession, and in 1869, after twenty years, his practice was probably the most valuable in the State, west of Middlesex County. It should not be forgotten that his elder brother, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Concord, likewise attained eminence as a lawyer, as Attorney-General of the United States, and judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

The Senator's beginning in politics was in folding and directing the call prepared by his father and brother for the convention which launched the Free Soil party in Massachusetts. His first speech was for that party, delivered at the meeting in Worcester City Hall on the night of its birth. He was made chairman of the Free Soil committee in Worcester County, which was said to have been best organized in all the United States.

The young man, whose personal ambition had been of the most modest character, and for whom his friends had never prophesied a great career, was early in coming to the front. In 1851, at the age of twenty-five, we find him a representative in the General Court, the youngest member of that body. It was manifested that, should he so choose, he might succeed Charles Allen in the National Congress, but he declined to consider the opportunity, realizing that to do so might mean making politics and not law his profession. But he served again in the Massachusetts House and in the Senate. He was an early advocate of women's suffrage, and delivered an address for the cause as early as 1868. His political addresses were many. His public spirit was always in evidence before, as well as after, he began to devote his life chiefly to national affairs.

In 1869, during his absence in England, he was elected as a Republican to Congress and served in the House until 1877, when the Massachusetts Legislature elected him to the Senate. Reëlected four times, he continued to represent Massachusetts in the Upper House until his death.

His first term in Washington was as a member of the Forty-second Congress. He immediately came into public notice as a member of the Committee on Elections. It was he who drew the report in the case of Cesana against Myers, in which many questions of vital importance were discussed and decided. The document has been accepted as authority ever since, and has been cited many times in election cases, not only in America but in England. In this particular case, the report assigned the disputed seat to Myers, the Democrat.

Mr. Hoar's dealings with election cases in this Congress and in the next were recognized by his associates of both parties as judicial and conscientious, and when the charge of undue partisanship was afterwards brought against him, he was defended by Giddings, a Texas Democrat. In the Democratic Forty-fourth Congress, Mr. Hoar wielded a large influence, in spite of the dominance of an unfriendly party. He was one of the managers of the impeachment of Secretary of War Belknap, and it was through his suggestion that the Ead's jetty bill was passed, which opened New Orleans to ocean commerce.

But his most distinguished service in the House of Representatives was that with which it closed—his work for and as a member of the Electoral Commission. He was a member of the committee which prepared the bill establishing the commission, was its advocate in the House, and was chosen by the House a member of it, and as such helped to determine the outcome of the Hayes-Tilden controversy in 1877. In 1873 he was chairman of a special committee which investigated governmental conditions in Louisiana.

In the Senate his most effective work was done upon measures of a professional or an administrative character rather than upon more popular political measures. In his own opinion his most important service to the country was on the committee on claims, where he exercised great influence in determining the doctrines which guided the Senate's action on Civil War claims of individuals, corporate bodies, and states. For more than twenty-five years he served continually on the committee on privileges and elections, and his opinions are cited as authoritative. For twenty years he was a member of the committee on judiciary and during much of the time its chairman. At the request of this committee he waited upon President McKinley to protest against the practice of appointing Senators upon commissions whose work was later to come before the Senate for approval. In character, in speech, and in bearing he upheld the highest traditions of the Senate, and was the author of two of its rules demanding decorum in debate. His speeches in opposition to the election of Senators by popular vote were among the weightiest arguments on that side of the question. He was the author of the law of 1887 which repealed the portion of the "tenure-of-office" act then in

force and of the Presidential succession act of 1886, and he had large power in framing bankruptcy and anti-trust legislation.

Moral issues won his prompt and tireless support. In the House he opposed the "salary grab" of 1873 and he turned over every penny which that brought to him to found a scholarship in the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. In the Senate he was the chief sponsor for laws to curb lotteries. His contempt for the bigotry of "A. P. A." movement led him, against the advice of his friends, to write a scathing letter which helped bury that movement "in the 'cellar' in which it was born."

Reckless of the possible political effect upon his future, he fought most strenuously against the Republican administrators' Philippine policy. Although his stand upon the question was disapproved in Massachusetts, yet so great was the admiration for his sincerity that he was reëlected in 1901 by a very large majority.

Senator Hoar played an important part in the counsels of many great institutions. For twelve years he was an overseer of Harvard University. In his home city, he exercised a great influence as a trustee of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and Clark University, from their foundations until his death. He served as a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and as president of the American Antiquarian Society and the American Historical Association. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Harvard University, William and Mary College, Amherst and Yale.

Senator Hoar's life flowed through the years in two channels. In the one he was the statesman, United States Senator from Massachusetts, publicist, one of the greatest powers in the political life of the Nation in all its important phases, and, of course, the lawyer, leader of the bar. In the other he was the scholar who ranked with the elect. And when his influence at Washington or elsewhere could be exerted to further a cause of intellectual advancement, or to bring light and understanding upon matters of history, and particularly of the early history of the American Colonies, he used it indefatigably. A notable example of this was his recovery for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of the precious Bradford Manuscript, the *History of the Plymouth Colony* by William Bradford, its Governor for thirty years following its founding. It had been taken from the archives by the British at the evacuation of Boston.

Shortly after the death of the Senator, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, an old and intimate friend, read a paper before the American Antiquarian Society on his literary and historical interests, from which we quote extracts:

"Of these he never lost sight even in the darkest gloom of the great political questions of half a century. He says himself in a sentence which is pathetic: 'Down to the time when I was admitted to the bar, and, indeed for

a year later, my dream and highest ambition were to spend my life as what is called an office lawyer, making deeds, and giving advice in small transactions. I supposed I was absolutely without capacity for public speaking.'

"So little does a man know himself. So little does a young man forecast his own future. I can remember those days. And I know how sincere this statement of his is. He really thought that he could not speak extemporaneously, and yet I lived to hear him make some of the most quick retorts which were ever listened to in either House or Congress.

"He says: 'I expected never to be married; perhaps to earn twelve or fifteen hundred dollars a year, which would enable me to have a room of my own in some quiet house and to collect rare books which could be had without much cost.'

"It was at that early period that I first knew him and from that early period till he died, I may say that we were near friends. I have a certain right, therefore, to speak of the underlying tastes and principles which asserted themselves in the fifty-five years of life which followed on his entrance at the bar. I remember hearing someone laugh at the advice which he gives to young men who would prepare for public life. Some one had asked what was the best training for a public speaker, and quite unconsciously Mr. Hoar replied that if a young man wanted to be a public speaker he would do well to read the Greek orators in the original language. There is something a little droll in the thought of such advice as given to what the public calls a 'rail splitter' or a 'bobbin boy.' But he said it perfectly unconsciously. I suppose he was thinking of his own young life and he knew very well that what Mr. Adams calls the Greek fetish is a fetish very easily conciliated. I remember him the first winter he was in Worcester, as preferring to read Plato in the original to going into the pleasant evening society of the town, so that it was with some little difficulty that we youngsters made him take his part in social entertainments. Almost to the day of his death he maintained such early studies, which were, indeed, no longer studies.

"By the kindness of Mr. Rockwood Hoar, I have here his unpublished translation of Thucydides. When of late years you called upon him of a sudden at his own home, you were as apt as not to find him standing at his desk and advancing that translation by a few lines, or revising it. Indeed, he reverenced the masters in whatever line of literature or life. You never met him but he surprised you by some apt quotation, perhaps from somebody you had never heard of, and it seems to me fair to say that the wide range of such reading is to be remembered at once as cause and effect in that sunny cheerfulness, confidence, and courage which everyone has noted who has attempted to give any analysis or discussion of his character.

"As I have spoken of the translation of Thucydides, I ought to say that I do not believe he had any thought of publishing it. He did not mean to throw discredit in any way upon the translations which existed. But rather, he meant, if I may use the phrase, to bind himself to the determination that he would once more read Thucydides, and would read him carefully.

* * *

"His addresses at Plymouth on Forefather's Day, his Eulogy on Garfield, delivered in Worcester, his address on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Worcester, his address at the dedication of the public library in Lincoln, Massachusetts, his address on Robert Burns, his address on Emerson, are to be spoken of as studies of permanent value. When in 1888 the State of Ohio celebrated its own centennial, Mr. Hoar was very properly requested by the authorities in Ohio to deliver the oration as representing the State of Massachusetts, whose Colony founded the city of Marietta. I had the pleasure of hearing that address. To this moment it is a great historical monument of a great occasion.

* * *

"Every such word of his in education or in history, is an original study and he is sure to go to the foundations. One of the representatives of Massachusetts in speaking of him before the House of Representatives cites the modest phrase of Mr. Webster, who says that the only genius he was aware of was a genius for hard work, and he applies that phrase to Mr. Hoar. It is a happy statement and it ought to be added that Mr. Hoar's literary work always seems to be spontaneous, or to be amusement or play. In general, the same remark would apply to it all which I have made of his Thucydides. In truth, he loved what we call study, and though no man was more social or welcomed a visitor more cordially, yet from one end of the year to another he would have been happy if he were alone with his books.

* * *

"And if I have a right to say it, I will say, that no man among us had a more careful knowledge of the Puritan leaders in the seventeenth century, or of the really devout scholars in the Church of England in the next century. In the very last interview I had with him, he recalled some verses of Dr. Watts which are omitted in most of our hymn books. This might have happened with a superficial reader, but when with his own care he repeated the words, you could not but remember that from Milton to Montgomery he was familiar with all the sacred poets of English literature.

* * *

"No one visits the ancient University of William and Mary at Williamsburg without observing the reverence and affection with which the gentlemen

there speak of his friendship to their college. In the Civil War the Peninsula of Virginia, as John Smith calls it, was almost of course the scene of the most critical military operation. Rightly or wrongly, I do not pretend to know, the army of the North destroyed the principal building of the university. It was natural that after the return of peace, the friends of William and Mary College would think that they had a rightful claim on the government different from that of most of the sufferers by the rough hand of war. Who should present that claim before the country? The Philistines of whatever type would not have thought that this young anti-slavery member from Massachusetts, whose public life had begun and continued because he hated the institution of slavery, whose own father and sister had been turned out of Charleston by the authorities by a genteel mob in that city, that he should have been the person to be the champion of William and Mary College, and should compel, so to speak, the government to restore to it the property which it had destroyed. But Mr. Hoar undertook that special service in face of the difficulties which seemed insoluble. Separate claims for separate losses in a struggle for four years were looked upon rightly with dissatisfaction, not to say intolerance. All the same he meant that this claim should be listened to and if I may use our vernacular, he 'put it through.' It was because it was just,—it must be acceded to.

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"When Mr. Hoar graduated at Cambridge his commencement part was a review of Daniel Boone's life. The subject itself showed the direction which his thought and study had already given to his life. And as one reviews the extraordinary range of his public writings, accurate as they are and profound at once, one understands the interest which the whole country took in him.

* * *

"I am not sure, but I believe, that if we had asked him which enterprise of his long life gave him the most pleasure in recollection,—I do not mean for its intrinsic importance, but for the dramatic associations of the whole event,—he would have said it was the recovery of Bradford's manuscript by the State of Massachusetts from its hiding place in London, the diary of William Bradford, Governor of the Plymouth Colony. When he was talking with the Bishop of London about this precious document, the Bishop said that he had never understood what was the value which belonged to it.

"'Why,' said Mr. Hoar, 'if there were in existence in England a history of King Alfred's reign for thirty years, written by his own hand, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this manuscript is to us.'

"After this appeal, which quite surprised Dr. Temple, the endless difficulties of English law and custom were all overcome successively; and on an august occasion, the 26th of May, 1897, the General Court of Massachusetts received the precious volume at the hands of Mr. Bayard, the first American Ambassador in London, on his return from his duty there. Governor Wolcott received the book to become henceforth the property of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Hoar made one of his most interesting addresses as he followed along its history. The Commonwealth thus owes to him this most precious memorial of its birth, and, as I say, I think he would have said, that no act of his had given him more pleasure than the effort which was crowned that day. Indeed, the history and principles of the founders of New England and of their successors were woven in with all his life, nor have we ever had a scholar who devoted to them such unremitting interest or who had more reason to be proud of his personal connection with the fathers."

On the base of the bronze statue of Senator Hoar, which stands on the plaza of Worcester City Hall, are inscribed these lines from his pen, which may be accepted as his creed:

"I believe in God, the living God, in the American people, a free and brave people, who do not bow the neck or bend the knee to any other, and who desire no other to bow the neck or bend the knee to them. I believe that liberty, good government, free institutions, cannot be given by any other people to any other, but must be wrought out for each by itself, slowly, painfully, in the process of years or centuries, as the oak adds ring to ring. I believe that, whatever clouds may darken the horizon, the world is growing better, that today is better than yesterday, and tomorrow will be better than today."

Elias Howe, Jr., Inventor of the Sewing Machine, 1819-1867—Elias Howe, Jr., was born in Spencer, the son of a farmer and miller, so poor that he had difficulty in supporting his family. As a lad of six years Elias worked with his brothers earning a trifle by sticking wire teeth into cards used in the manufacture of cotton cloth, and later he helped on the farm and in the gristmill. His schooling was obtained in the winter months. He was only eleven years old when he was bound to a farmer. But he learned that he could earn more in the cotton mills at Lowell, and made his way there, to labor until the mills were closed in the financial crash of 1837. Going to Cambridge, he found employment in a machine shop.

He was working in Ari Davis' shop on Cornhill, Boston, where nautical instruments were made and repaired, when, in 1839, chance put the idea into his head that was eventually to make him a famous inventor and a rich man. An inventor and a capitalist were trying to work out a practical knitting

machine, and took the model to Davis, in the hope that he could make something from it. Davis expressed his contempt for the machine, and asked why they did not make a sewing machine. Twenty-year-old Elias seized upon the idea, and from that time for years it was almost constantly in his mind. But for a long time the machine took only nebulous form. He was only twenty-one when he married, and the burden of a family rested heavily upon him, for his earning power was small.

In 1843 he began to make his model, but it was not until the following year that it was completed. In the meanwhile his father had moved to Cambridge, where he manufactured a machine of his own invention for cutting palmleaf into strips for the manufacture of hats, and there his son found employment. A friend and schoolmate, George Fisher gave him some financial assistance. Howe worked at his invention all through the winters from 1843 to 1845.

In April of the latter year his long continued labor met with success. He sewed an entire seam by machinery. In July he sewed all the seams of two suits of woolen clothes, one for his friend Fisher, the other for himself, and it developed that the seams outlasted the cloth. One would have supposed quick adoption of the machine would have rewarded him. Instead he met with nothing but discouragement. A Boston tailor, after seeing the sewing machine in operation, condemned it, a public exhibition failed to exploit it properly. Finally, he decided to go to England, where he hoped to meet with greater measure of success. Yet there, too, nothing but discouragement greeted him. Finally, too poor to pay his passage home, he pawned his model, and returned to America. In New York he was met with the message that his wife was dying in Cambridge. There was but half a crown in his pocket, and he borrowed the money to pay his railroad fare home.

Howe found that during his two years' absence his patent had been infringed, and there followed nine years of litigation. The case was finally decided in his favor. Riches poured in on him. It was said that the machine which the world owed to him enabled the northern government to keep a million men in the field during the Civil War. In 1869, the year of his death, and of the expiration of the patent, it had brought him a fortune of two million dollars.

Levi Lincoln, Sr., Congressman, Jurist, Attorney-General of the United States, 1749-1820—Levi Lincoln, founder of the Lincoln family of Worcester, was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, son of a farmer. Apprenticed to a blacksmith, his tastes ran to literature, and he early became a student, devoting a portion of each night to Latin and Greek. His desire for learning increased, until he abandoned the forge, and in six months time

prepared for Harvard University, where he graduated in 1772. He had planned to enter the ministry, but an accidental visit to the courts turned his mind to the law, and he commenced his preparation for the bar. In April of 1775 he marched with the Minutemen to the fight at Concord and Lexington and to Cambridge, but as the emergency had passed and the army had settled down in their entrenchments for a protracted siege, he returned to Northampton, where he had been studying, and was admitted to practice at the bar.

He immediately settled himself in Worcester, where, to quote his son, William Lincoln, "a wide and clear field for the exertion of talent was presented. The principal men of the county had espoused the cause of the royal government, and been driven from their homes, or deserted their country. Two lawyers only remained at the bar when the temples of justice were reopened in 1775, after having been closed by the tumult of arms for a year. Decision of character and energy of purpose, capacity to lead and popular address, soon gave him prominent station. Introduced into extensive business, he still devoted his talents to the cause of independence, and immediately became an active member of the committees of the Revolution. Animated appeals to patriotism in written addresses, and printed communications in the newspaper of the town, attest the ardor of his devotion and the powerful expression of his pen."

Mr. Lincoln in succeeding years served as judge of probate, was especially delegated, in 1779, to prosecute the claims of government in the large estates of the refugees, confiscated under the Absentee Act; was representative in the General Court, and later served in the State Senate. In the autumn of 1900, although his democratic principles were known to be opposed to those of the majority of the voters, he was elected to the Seventh Congress, and to fill the interim vacancy caused by the resignation of Dwight Foster.

Soon after taking his seat, however, he was selected by President Thomas Jefferson as a member of his cabinet, and on March 5, 1801, he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, and served as provisional Secretary of State until the arrival of James Madison at the capital in the following May. After four years of service he tendered his resignation.

"I received last night," wrote President Jefferson, "your letter, proposing to resign your office; and I received it with real affliction. It would have been my greatest happiness to have kept together to the end of my term our executive family; for our harmony and cordiality have really made us but as one family. Yet, I am a father, and have been a husband. I know the sacred duties which these relations impose; the feelings they inspire; and that they are not to be resisted by a warm heart. I yield, therefore, to your wishes. You carry with you my entire approbation of your official conduct, my

thanks for your services, my regrets on losing them, and my affectionate friendship."

He was a member of the Governor's Council in 1806, and in 1807 was Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, and following the decease of Governor Sullivan in December, 1808, discharged the duties of Govornor for the remainder of the term. Nominated for Governor in 1809 he was defeated. He declined the nomination when a change in party ascendency seemed to assure election. But for two years he was again a councillor.

Levi Lincoln appeared at the bar as attorney in many important causes. In our chapter on "Slavery in Worcester County" we have told of the history-making part he played in the crucial case of the slave Quork Walker, as counsel for the black, and the credit which is accorded him in winning the court's decision which made Massachusetts the first State in the Union formally to abolish slavery. This is only one of his many cases in which great principles of law were involved, and upon the issues of which hung the tenure of large properties.

The great honor of appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States came to him in 1811. Wrote President Madison: "You will see by the commission which will be forwarded from the Department of State, that I have taken the liberty of nominating you to the Senate as successor to Judge Cushing, notwithstanding your remonstrance against a recall into the national service. I was induced to this step, not only by my personal wishes, but by those of others, between whom and yourself exist all the reciprocal respect that can hold weight to them, and particularly by their persuading themselves, that your patriotism would acquiesce in an appointment however contrary it might be to your previous inclinations. I venture to flatter myself that in this we may not be disappointed; and that, in every event, you will regard the liberty I have taken in imposing the dilemma upon you, with the indulgence due to my motives, and to the great esteem and sincere friendship of which I pray you to accept my renewed assurance."

Thomas Jefferson wrote him: "Be assured your place is high among those whose remembrance I have brought with me into retirement and cherish with warmth. I was overjoyed when I heard you were appointed to the Supreme Bench of national justice, and as much mortified when I heard you had declined."

"Weakness of sight," wrote his historian son, "terminating in almost total blindness, rendered it necessary to decline even such solicitation, and to retire from public life. Partial restoration of vision enabled him to resume the cultivation of the farm and the classical studies, both objects of passionate attachment, and among the fields, and with the pages of his favorite Latin authors, to alleviate the infirmities of decaying health, and pressing age."

Governor Levi Lincoln, Jr., for Nine Terms Chief Executive of Massachusetts, 1782-1868—Levi Lincoln, Jr., was born in Worcester, son of a highly distinguished father, graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1802. He studied law in the office of his father, then Attorney-General of the United States, was admitted to the bar in 1805, and commenced practice in Worcester. In 1812 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1814 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and prepared and offered the minority protest against the act authorizing the famous Hartford Convention. He represented his town in the Lower House until 1824, excepting for three years when he declined to be a candidate. In 1820 he was a delegate to the convention which revised the State Constitution, and afterwards was one of the commissioners, under the act for the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, to make partition and apportionment of the public property. In 1822, although the majority of the house differed with him politically, he was elected Speaker. He was Lieutenant-Governor in 1823, and in 1824 was made an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court.

In April, 1825, he was nominated for Governor by both great parties, and of course, elected, and continued in the office through nine successive reëlections, at the close of which service he declined renomination. In February of 1834 he was appointed to the National House of Representatives to fill the vacancy caused by the election of John Davis as Governor, and in the following November was elected to that office, as a member of the Twenty-fourth Congress. Governor Lincoln rounded out his public career as Collector of the Port of Boston, and in 1848 as the first mayor of the newly incorporated city of Worcester.

The rest of his long life Governor Lincoln passed in retirement, but not in inactivity. He built the mansion on Elm Street, which today is occupied by his descendants. He was deeply interested in agriculture, and in the Worcester Agricultural Society of which he was the first president. He was a member of the board of overseers of Harvard University, vice-president of the American Antiquarian Society, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Honors came to him. Harvard and Williams colleges conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

In all this period he emerged from private life but once, when in 1864, at eighty years of age, he was chosen an elector to the Republican National Convention, and cast his ballot for Abraham Lincoln for President. He was a great admirer of Lincoln, who had been his guest at the Elm Street mansion twenty years before.

A sketch of the life of the senior Levi Lincoln is contained in the chapter on slavery, in the abolition of which in Massachusetts he played a leading rôle.

Enoch Lincoln, Governor of Maine, 1788-1829—Enoch Lincoln, one of the two Governor sons of Levi Lincoln, Sr., was born in Worcester. He entered the sophomore class of Harvard College in 1806. "One of those unhappy commotions," wrote his brother William, "which have disturbed the repose of the ancient seat of learning in Cambridge, occurred in 1808, and he voluntarily withdrew from the university during his senior year." So he took up the study of law with his brother Levi, was admitted to practice in 1811, commenced business in Salem and returned to Worcester and practiced for a year. He finally settled in Fryeburg, Maine. In 1819, when he was only thirty-one years old, he was elected to Congress, and removed to Paris, the capital of the Maine county. He continued his membership in the National House of Representatives until 1826. The following three years he was Governor of Maine, each time elected unopposed, an unanimity almost if not quite without precedent in those early days of feverish political excitement. He declined renomination, intending to devote himself in retirement, to literary pursuits, in which already he had become known, but his death came in 1829, when he was but forty years old.

William Lincoln, Historian of Worcester, 1801-1843—William Lincoln, son of Levi Lincoln, Sr., was born in Worcester, graduated from Harvard College, studied law and was admitted to the bar. But his tastes were not those of a lawyer but of a scholar and particularly a historian. His *History of Worcester,* published in 1837 has remained through a century the standard, accepted authority on the early years of the community, and has been invaluable to historians who have followed after him.

Soon after becoming a lawyer, William Lincoln and Christopher Columbus Baldwin published for a time the *Worcester Magazine,* devoted to local history, and still valued by those who have occasion to make research into early periods of New England life. He represented his town in the General Court, but most of his time was devoted to literary and antiquarian research. His untimely death at the age of forty-three lost much to our present-day knowledge of old Worcester town. Governor Emory Washburn said of him: "He was profound and learned for his years, the diligent student, with his every-ready fancy and playful wit, the genial companion and the man of taste and letters."

General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., Soldier, 1839-1925—Lieutenant-General Nelson Appleton Miles, U. S. A., native of Westminster, was engaged in mercantile pursuits in Boston at the outbreak of the Civil War, and imme-

diately enlisted in the volunteer army. Having had experience in the militia he was commissioned first lieutenant, and given the command of a company of the 22d Massachusetts Infantry. In 1862 he was made lieutenant-colonel of the 61st New York Volunteer Infantry, and a few months later became its colonel. He was commissioned brigadier-general in the volunteer army in 1864 and major-general in 1865, and mustered out of the volunteer army in 1866.

In July, 1866, he was commissioned colonel in the regular army, and given command of the 40th U. S. Infantry. He was made brigadier-general in 1880, major-general in 1890, and lieutenant-general, by act of Congress, in 1900, and again lieutenant-general in 1901, under the law reorganizing the army. He was retired August 8, 1903.

General Miles' military career was a brilliant one. His promotion to brigadier-general in 1867 was "for gallant and meritorious services at Chancellorsville" where he was severely wounded, and the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded him in 1892 was for "distinguished gallantry" in that battle. His brevet of major-general in 1864 was for "highly meritorious and distinguished conduct throughout the campaign and particularly for gallantry and valuable services at the battle of Reams Station, Virginia." When he was twenty-five years old he commanded in the field an army corps of 26,000 men.

Following the Civil War, General Miles conducted several campaigns against hostile Indians, notably the Sioux under Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse and Chief Joseph, and the Apaches under Geronimo and Natchez, whose surrender he forced, thus bringing to a close hostilities with the Indian tribes.

General Miles represented the United States at the seat of the Turco-Grecian War, and at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. He was senior officer of the United States Army from 1895 to 1903, and as such commanded the army in the Spanish-American War. He led the expedition which invaded Porto Rico and took possession after a bloodless campaign. He declined service with the Cuban expedition, believing it was inadequately organized to conduct a tropic campaign at mid-summer, which proved to be the case and cost the country hundreds of lives.

After his retirement in 1903 General Miles made Westminster, his birthplace, his summer home. In 1905 he commanded the Massachusetts Militia.

He was the author of "Personal Recollections; or from New England to the Golden Gate" (1896); "Military Europe" (1898); "Observations Abroad; or Report of Major General Nelson A. Miles, commanding U. S. Army, of His Tour of Observation in Europe" (1899); and "Serving the Republic" (1911). General Miles received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University in 1896, from Brown University in 1901, and from Colgate University in 1910.

Charles H. Morgan, 1831-1911—Victor E. Edwards, 1862-1931— (The Morgan Continuous Billet Mill and the Edwards Flying Shear, Simultaneous, Complemental Inventions, Revolutionized the Steel Industry Over night.)—Two Worcester men, the late Charles H. Morgan, founder and head of the then infant Morgan Construction Company, and the late Victor E. Edwards, his young engineer, afterwards a director, vice-president and chief engineer of the company, are given full credit for revolutionizing the steel industry by epoch-making inventions. Mr. Morgan, veteran mechanical engineer and inventor, for many years superintendent of the works of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, now the American Steel & Wire Company, produced the mill which first rolled steel billets continuously, which had been thought an impossibility.

Victor Edwards accomplished the more spectacular invention, a shear which would cut off to desired lengths the speeding hot billet as it emerged from the final pass through the train of rolls. Without it the continuous mill would have been impotent, for in no other way could the finished billet be handled. The two inventions were perfect complements to one another. The story of why and how they originated is an industrial epic.

In 1892 Charles Briggs of the Jones & Laughlin Company, Pittsburgh, went to Mr. Morgan, saying he had seen a Morgan continuous rod mill, and felt that the same continuous principle could be applied to roughing mills in general. If so, he said, it would obviously be a development which would give to steel plants a machine so efficient and so saving of hard manual labor under fierce heat conditions, as to be not only a great mechanical contribution to the art of rolling, but would rise even higher as a boon to mankind.

As a result of their meeting, Mr. Morgan went to Pittsburgh, and returned to Worcester carrying in his pocket a contract with the Jones & Laughlin Company, which called for the design of what appeared to be, in the light of previous development in the industry, a mechanical impossibility and a mechanical miracle. The impossible was that the proposed mill should do what no mill had ever done before, roll steel or copper billets continuously. The miracle was that an 800-foot straight billet should be rolled on the plot of land designated, a three cornered bit which was 150 feet on its longest side. There could be no coiling of this elongated mass of hot steel. Therefore it must be sheared into short lengths as it emerged from the finishing pass through the rolls. No known shear could operate under such conditions, for the billet could not pause to receive the cutting stroke. The solution of this problem must be a great basic invention.

The contract showed Mr. Morgan's superb enterprise and courage, and his faith in his brilliant young engineer, not yet thirty years old, who had

taken his degree as mechanical engineer from the Worcester Polytechnic Institute only nine years before, and had but recently joined the Morgan Construction Company's staff.

Mr. Morgan had already designed and built two continuous rod mills for the Washburn & Moen plant. But rods, the raw material from which wire is drawn, are of small diameter. They are rolled from billets, and are handled by coiling on reels. To make the subject clearer, it may be well to explain that the first step in this branch of steel-making is pouring the molten metal from the furnace into moulds to form massive ingots. These are rolled down to thick blooms, in a special mill, and the next process is the reduction of the blooms to billets.

Up to this time, billets had always been rolled in short lengths, passed back and forth through a single stand of rolls having grooves of diminishing size. The handling of this white-hot steel was done by men, a terribly dangerous task. As the billet emerged from the rolls it was seized with tongs, and its end introduced into the next smaller groove. Maimings and killings were commonplaces. Damages for such injuries mounted to such a figure that they were entered as a factor of overhead cost. Therefore if the continuous process could be applied to rolling billets, and means provided to handle the output mechanically instead of by human hands, the humanitarian element of achievement would be enormous.

Mr. Morgan, in designing the new mill, established a principle, by passing the steel through a series of horizontal rolls, and, which was the essence of the invention, giving the billet a quarter turn between each succeeding pair. Every continuous rolling mill in use today embraces the Morgan principle.

To Victor Edwards was entrusted the problem of the shear. The result was a great invention, the first of a long series, many of which marked important steps of rolling mill practice. Before it had been given even one bite of a billet it was dubbed in derision "the Flying Shear." And so it has always been known through the years, even to this day, but the name is now spoken in respectful admiration. From the very beginning its massive mechanism was as exact in its automatic action as that of the little machine which produces such trifles as safety pins and hooks and eyes.

The mill and shear were promptly built and installed. Then things began to lag. As Major Edwards told the story years later, everybody in Pittsburgh seemed to lose interest and the Jones & Laughlin people, having sunk so much in a venture which had come to appear dubious, seemed unwilling to spend the additional money necessary for installing the equipment required for getting the steel to and from the mill.

The mill superintendent said it was all foolishness. He said he could roll small billets better on his old 28-inch blooming mill. He attempted it and

failed, but his failure only served to convince him and his associates that the new mill and shear would be a still more disastrous failure. Even if the continuous mill did work, the shear would not, they said, and therefore in the cramped location the entire equipment would be valueless for anything but junk. The poor shear was the butt of many a jest. In derision somebody called it a "Flying Shear" and the name stuck.

The steel company's chief engineer lost faith and even hope in that foolish Flying Shear. The Morgan Company's erector felt the same way. The new mill and shear had lost all its friends. Why, they asked in Pittsburgh, should Jones & Laughlin continue to sink money in such a crazy scheme?

Their general superintendent finally sent for Edwards and said: "Mr. Edwards, up to now you have been very successful in not making any definite promises. Now I want you to make definite promises as to what this mill and shear will do." His words were gentle, but his tone and eye clearly indicated a rapidly approaching crisis. He had to have a clear-cut answer, and he got it.

Said Edwards: "You well know that the mill, the shear and also the mill crew are all new and wholly undemonstrated. It is, therefore, difficult to guarantee much, but as you must have definite promises, I will make you two. First, for the reasons just stated, you may experience considerable difficulty in starting the mill. The second promise is much more definite. If you and your assistants have not faith in the mill and the shear, the entire equipment will land in the scrap heap."

That brought action. The absurdity of condemning a costly equipment without adequate trial was too apparent. The atmosphere changed. The missing equipment was installed. The mill was tried. It refused to take the first piece. The rolls would not "bite." One can imagine the ill-concealed triumph of the group of Doubting Thomases. But the first pair of rolls was then "ragged," that is to say, slightly roughened, and a second bloom was delivered to the mill. That was all there was to it. The mill and shear worked perfectly. The revolution of the steel industry had begun.

The mill and shear continued to work with little or no trouble, night and day, for sixteen years. Then the once ridiculed Flying Shear was pulled out because the company wished to double the speed of the once-doubted mill, and a later type Edwards flying-shear was installed. And this did its work until, some years later, Jones & Laughlin decided that the old Morgan mill could do three times its original work, and so a third flying-shear was put in. Morgan and Edwards knew what they were about when more than forty years ago they revolutionized in a few weeks the rolling of steel billets, and

paved the way for the application of the same principles of mill and shear to the rolling of many other classes of steel.

Mr. Edwards' problem was an exceedingly difficult one. But weary days and nights finally resulted in the invention of a type of shear where the cutting stroke was merely incidental to the forward stroke or travel of the shear with the billet, and where the upper knife was hinged to permit the billet to continue freely on its way while the shear was slowing down, stopping and returning to its starting point. The first flying-shear was operated by hydraulic power, but steam was substituted in all succeeding models. One reason for this was that the hydraulic shear shot up a fountain of water with each stroke. But the principle remained the same. To be briefly technical, quoting the inventor:

"All the hinged type after the first were operated by a direct connected steam cylinder having a large piston rod. Full boiler pressure is always maintained on the upper or piston-rod end. Full pressure is maintained on the head end when the shear is at rest. This keeps both ends of the piston hot and gives instantaneous response when the exhaust valve is opened on the head end."

Such is the manner in which the young inventor solved the perplexing problem of overcoming instantly the inertia of a huge weight of metal that must move at high speed. In the original model, hundreds of pounds of steel swung backward and forward many times a minute. In the big shear of recent design the moving parts weigh close to ten tons and make fifty strokes per minute, swinging forward and back, a complete cycle in just over one second, and, while moving, the shear bites off a billet five inches square or a slab having a section 30 inches wide by one inch thick.

The control of the shear is electrical. In one of the pictures, a general view of a mill, the control box is shown at the left. Through it runs a long screw for moving the box back and forth to take position for any required length of cut. Hanging from it is a panel called the "flag." When the end of the oncoming billet strikes the "flag" an electrical circuit sets the shear in motion.

Different uses demanded different types, so that this field of invention alone was a broad one. There are flying shears for cutting rods and billets, barrel hoop and cotton ties, skelp, which is the thin flat stock from which pipes are rolled, sheet bar and other shapes, and variations in each of these. He also made important inventions on cooling beds which dispose of the cut off billets or other forms of rolled steel after they have been sheared; and the automatic reels for taking the output of rod mills and other mills whose product is coiled. More than 100 patents were issued to Major Edwards in the United States and foreign countries. The economic value of these chil-

dren of his brain is beyond conception. The number of accidents to workmen which his inventions have prevented must total a huge figure.

Dr. William T. G. Morton, Discoverer of Anaesthesia, 1819-1868—Dr. William Thompson Green Morton, native of Charlton, discoverer of ether as an anaesthetic, causing insensibility to pain, entered the Baltimore Dental College in 1840, and two years later started the practice of dentistry in Boston. Later he pursued his studies in medicine and surgery at the Harvard Medical School, but did not take his degree. But Washington College bestowed upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1852, in recognition of his epoch-marking discovery, which revolutionized surgical practice.

He was attracted to research, and concentrated on the problem of anaesthesia. He experimented in many ways on dogs, and finally hit upon sulphuric ether as a probable solution of the problem. Chance helped him. One day a bottle of ether slipped from his hand and broke, and he sopped up some of the liquid on a piece of linen and held it to the nostrils of his dog. The animal promptly lost consciousness. His experiments covered a long time. He swept the Boston docks for human subjects, who were willing to submit to etherization for pay. He extracted teeth without inflicting conscious suffering. Finally he obtained permission of the chief surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital to give a demonstration in the operating room.

The patient, Gilbert Abbott, was suffering from a tumor of the jaw which was to be removed. The surgeons present had no confidence in the efficacy of the Morton method. They had seen other drugs applied—brandy, opium, laudanum—all without adequate results. Even hypnotism had been tried. But there was no escape from the agony, and from the groans and screams of the tortured patients, strapped and held down by brute force. There was never surprise when man or woman died under the shock of agony.

So the patient Abbott was strapped down according to custom, and Dr. Morton proceeded to etherize him. He lost consciousness. The operation proceeded, one which should have produced awful pain. The patient did not notice it. There were no screams and shrieks. The operation ended, the senior surgeon turned to his associates and voiced the opinion of the civilized world, "Gentlemen, this is no humbug." From that day to this, the operating room has never again been a torture chamber.

Dr. Morton was wont to say in after life that he was the only person in the world to whom the discovery of ether was a pecuniary loss. Immediately following the announcement to the world, Dr. Jackson, in whose laboratory Morton had carried on his research, demanded his share of all financial profit.

Repeated attempts to have the discovery patented met with failure. The controversy raged fiercely. A wag of the day proposed that the two doctors fight it out with ether bottles, he who last lost consciousness to be declared the winner. The discoverer, whose contribution to mankind was one of the greatest of all time, was destined never to profit. The Massachusetts General awarded him $1,000. He received a few hundred dollars from other sources. Time and again Congress was within an ace of voting him $100,000 but something always intervened. But millions of people have blessed his name for what he did for them or theirs.

On Dr. Morton's gravestone is this epitaph:

> Inventor and revealer of anaesthetic inhalation,
> Before whom in all time surgery was agony,
> By whom pain in surgery was averted and annulled,
> Since whom science has control of pain.

Each year, on October 16, commemorative services are held at the Massachusetts General Hospital. And the name of William T. C. Morton is inscribed in the American Hall of Fame.

Charles H. Norton, Inventor of the Precision High Production Grinding Machine which made Possible Mass Production of Automobiles and Many Other Essentials of Modern Life, 1851—Charles Hotchkiss Norton was born in Plainville, Connecticut, and spent the first twenty years of his business life from young boyhood as mechanic and superintendent in the employ of the Seth Thomas Clock Company. He began to give special attention to grinding machines in 1886 when he entered the employ of the Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company as inventor and designer. In that plant he acquired his knowledge of the grinding machines of the time and conceived the idea that greater accuracy in grinding could be obtained from a much heavier and more expensive machine by methods that were then considered revolutionary in character. It was his firm belief that the cost of the machine should be measured only on the basis of the ultimate result in improved work, increased production and consequent lower cost.

When Charles H. Norton joined the Norton Company in 1900, precision grinding as a production method for making accurate, economical, cylindrical and flat surfaces required in all kinds of machinery was unknown. The grinding machine was then a light, small-powered tool designed to polish the surface of the work and in some cases to produce at great cost accurate sizing to a limit of a hundredth of an inch. Today the grinding machine is a metal cutting production tool commercially producing cylindrical work ground to precision to a quarter of a thousandth of an inch, at less cost than lathe work alone was then costing. Modern machine production owes its rapid develop-

ment as much to the development of rapid grinding as to the invention of high speed steel which revolutionized the art of turning.

The Norton Company and Mr. Norton decided to experiment in the manufacture of a heavier machine and in that year the first Norton machine was built—capable of removing one cubic inch of metal per minute, with greater accuracy than had previously been attained. This machine demonstrated the soundness of Mr. Norton's theory that economy would result if heavy cuts were made with the lathe and the grinding machine used for the final reduction and finishing of the surface. It was Mr. Norton's idea to make the grinding wheel more than a polishing tool. It was also to be a cutting tool for cutting off stock as well as for finishing it, thus eliminating the finishing cut of the lathe.

"Put a greater investment in the machine," said Mr. Norton, "utilize more power during a shorter period of time, get greater production and reduce labor costs."

The methods then employed were to advance the work in front of a small grinding wheel a hundredth to one-sixteenth inch per revolution of the work. Mr. Norton planned to use a heavy wheel mounted on a heavy anvil cross slide, to hold the work firmly on a specially constructed table properly supported by steady rests, and to apply power enough to make the grinding wheel a stock-cutting-off tool instead of a polishing or finishing tool. The fastest table speed up to that time was 5′ per minute. Mr. Norton doubled it and speed has been gradually increased until table traverse on Norton machines is now in many instances 35′ per minute. These Norton ideas were so revolutionary that they were not fully accepted even after they were proved to be sound. As early as 1900 when a half-inch wheel face was considered a wide wheel, Mr. Norton advocated and started using a two-inch wheel face. The Norton machines are now successfully grinding with wheels as wide as sixteen-inch face.

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Norton not only invented an entirely new machine but an entirely new method of grinding, and brought about an entirely new conception of the place of grinding in the machine tool industry. By early methods the average amount of metal removed by the grinding wheel was about one-sixteenth of a cubic inch per minute. The first Norton machine removed one cubic inch and since then machines for removing two, three, four, six and in rare cases twelve cubic inches of metal per minute have been attained. When roughing, and frequently when removing as much as three or four cubic inches per minute, the grinding process of today leaves the work sufficiently accurate and well finished without further refining cuts. While formerly a method of securing refinement at great expense, grinding is now one of the most economical methods of production, as instanced in the

grinding of automobile crankshafts direct from the forging without preliminary turning.

Mr. Norton's inventions include the shape of the table, the mounting of the head—and footstocks, the new and unusual mounting of the wheel slide and feed screw, the construction of the wheel slide without an adjustable gib, the micrometer cross feed for the wheel slide, and the arc of a circle steady-rest. The line of Norton grinding machines started in 1900 has been increased until it now includes machines for a variety of grinding operations, totaling approximately 100 sizes of the several types, including types for grinding crank-pins, crankshafts, camshafts, car wheels, car axles, rolls and locomotive piston rods, as well as universal multi-purpose grinding machines, surface grinding machines and running balance indicating machines. These machines are employed throughout the world in shops where precision grinding and rapid production are desired.

The grinding machine now occupies a position of importance in the metal-working world beyond the conception of practically everyone not directly associated with it. It is one of the big factors of low cost and high rate of production of machine tools, automobiles, locomotives, wood-working machinery, armament, printing presses, linotype and monotype machines, sewing machines, cash registers, adding machines and typewriters, agricultural machines and of many other kinds of machinery. There is hardly one of the many close-fitting parts of the motor vehicle that is not ground and each of them is a more accurate piece because of grinding, bringing the assembled machine much nearer perfection and at a much lower cost than would be possible by any other method.

Whereas a grinding machine engaged in regular production work was almost unknown in a shop even fifteen or eighteen years ago, today the magnitude of the grinding departments in the large automobile plants, with their batteries of grinding machines of almost every type, is sufficient evidence that modern grinding is a large factor in quality, fast production and low manufacturing expense, and that Mr. Norton by his pioneer inventions in this important art has indeed earned a place among "the most deserving," as was indicated when the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia awarded him the John Scott Medal.

Samuel Slater, Founder of American Cotton Industry, 1768-1835—Samuel Slater, founder of the famous Slater Mills at Webster, was the father of the cotton spinning industry in America and built the first woolen mill. As a boy in England he was apprenticed to Strutt, associate of the great Richard Arkwright, and mastered the Arkwright inventions which revolutionized cotton spinning and made possible the rapid establishment of the

cotton industry. Before his apprenticeship had ended he had resolved to emigrate to America, which seemed to him to present a greater field than England for the use of the new cotton machinery. At that time cotton manufacturing in England was confined to a small section of Derbyshire, nor was it expected to increase rapidly in importance. Before the boy Slater entered to his apprenticeship, he asked Strutt if he considered it a permanent business, and the elder man replied: "It is not probable, Samuel, that it will always be as good as it is now, but I have no doubt it will always be a fair business if well managed."

The lad naturally accepted the prevailing opinion of the outlook in England, and eight years later when he read the advertisement of an American society, published in a Philadelphia newspaper, offering a reward for the invention of textile machinery to accomplish what Arkwright had done, he did not hesitate in his plan for crossing the ocean. The English government was guarding its industries with the most jealous care. The bitter sting of the recently ended Revolution rankled. No skilled mechanic was permitted to leave England for the New World. No machinery was shipped abroad. No person could take passage for the United States without submitting to a thorough search of person and belongings, and severe punishment awaited one who would attempt to smuggle knowledge of mechanisms or processes in any tangible form. So Samuel Slater kept his plans strictly to himself. Not even his mother and brothers learned of his intention until he was well at sea. He had neither drawing nor transcript model nor sample. He carried the precious knowledge in his head.

Reaching America, he became known to Moses Brown, that most enterprising Quaker, founder of Brown University, and a man of most progressive ideas. The boy had written him, "I flatter myself I can give the greatest satisfaction in making machinery." He was invited to Providence, and Moses Brown showed him machines built in Pawtucket for his mill in that village. "These will not do," said the young Englishman. "They are good for nothing in their present condition, nor can they be made to answer." "Thee said," replied the elder man, "that thee could make machinery. Why not do it?" And Samuel Slater did, and with it equipped the first successful cotton mill in the United States. So successful, in fact, was the spinning machinery, that the thrifty owner regarding the output for the first year, commanded, "Thee must shut down thy wheels, Samuel, or thee will spin all my farms into cotton yarn." Some of this yarn sent to Strutt and Arkwright was pronounced as good as any of their own manufacture.

The problem of spinning cotton into yarn had been solved. But the power loom was yet to come into use, and weaving was still done by hand in the homes of the country people. This was a dominant reason for the selection

of Webster, then a part of Oxford, as the site of a new mill, that a new and large area of farming country might be made available for cotton weaving as a home industry, the yarn coming from the Slater Mill.

In 1815, to meet an insistent demand, Samuel Slater erected at Webster the first woolen mill in America, for the manufacture of uniform cloth, and presently was making the cloth from which the uniforms of both United States Army and Navy were fashioned. Upon his death, ownership and management passed on to his son, Horatio N. Slater, already a partner, who continued his control of the business for forty-five years, until his retirement in 1888, in which long period it became one of the greatest textile manufacturing houses in the world.

Andrew O'Connor, Sculptor, 1874—Andrew O'Connor, sculptor of international fame, was born in Worcester, son of Andrew O'Connor, himself a sculptor, with whom he studied from childhood. Many distinguished honors have come to the son, among them the second medal of the Paris Salon of 1906 and the first medal of 1928. He is a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor. Much of his life has been spent abroad with a studio in Paris or in London. For some years he worked in a studio at Paxton, where he executed some of his best known works, including his famous equestrian Lafayette which stands in Baltimore.

Among his other best known works are the Central Porch, St. Bartholmew's Church, New York; eleven marble statues for the Essex County-house, Newark, New Jersey; bas-relief, library of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York; General Liscum Monument, Arlington Cemetery; General Thomas Monument, Tarrytown, New York; bronze statue General Lawton, Indianapolis; marble statue, General Lew Wallace, Capitol at Washington; and bronze statue of General Wallace at Crawfordsville, Indiana; monument to General John A. Johnson, St. Paul; original model, statue of Commodore Barry; original design, St. Bartholomew's doors and marble portrait of Edward Tuck, Luxembourg Museum, Paris; statue of Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois; Roosevelt Memorial, Glen View, Illinois; bronze statue of Lafayette, Baltimore; statue of Lincoln, Royal Exchange, London; statue of Lincoln, Providence, Rhode Island; statue of Daniel O'Connell, Dublin, Ireland; and Mourning Woman, National Gallery, London.

In Worcester is the Spanish War memorial, a bronze statue of an American soldier which stands in front of the Armory in the square where Salisbury and Grove streets come together, and the bronze drinking fountain, the Boy and the Turtle, at Salem Square.

Frances Perkins, Sociologist and First Woman Member of President's Cabinet, 1882—Frances Perkins (Mrs. Paul Wilson), sociologist, first woman member of the cabinet of the President of the United States,

was born in Boston, but from infancy through her young womanhood was a resident of Worcester. She prepared for college in the Worcester schools and graduated from Mt. Holyoke in 1902. She pursued post-graduate courses in the University of Pennsylvania and at Columbia University, which conferred upon her the degree of Master of Arts.

Her first sociological experience was in her home city of Worcester. In 1910-12 she was executive secretary of the Consumers' League, New York; in 1911, lecturer of sociology at Adelphia College; in 1912-17, executive secretary of the Committee on Safety, New York; and in this period conducted investigations for the New York State Factory Commission; in 1917-19 she was executive director of the New York Council of Organization for War Service; in the following two years was commissioner of the New York State Industrial Commission; then for two years served as director of the Council on Immigrant Education; was a member of the New York State Industrial Board from 1923, and its chairman from 1926 to 1929; and was commissioner of the New York State Industrial Commission until in 1933 she was named by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as his Secretary of Labor.

She is the author of *Life Hazards from Fire in New York Factories, The Problem of Mercantile Fire Hazards, A Plan for Maternity Care, Women as Employers,* and *A Social Experiment under the Workmen's Compensation Jurisdiction.*

Arthur Prentice Rugg, Chief Justice of the Massahusetts Supreme Court, 1862—Arthur P. Rugg was born in Sterling where his boyhood was passed on his father's farm. He graduated from Amherst College in 1883 and from the Boston University Law School in 1886, and was immediately admitted to the bar. He established himself in Worcester, where he has ever since made his home. He became a law partner of the late John R. Thayer under the firm name of Thayer & Rugg, served as assistant district attorney and later as city solicitor. He was but forty-four years old when he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and in 1911 was made Chief Justice, which is not only the highest judicial office in Massachusetts, but is regarded as one of the highest in the country, so lofty has been the standard of this court from its inception, when Lemuel Shaw was its Chief Justice. Justice Rugg has written many opinions which are regarded by the bar as most valuable as well as scholarly interpretations of American law. The degree of Doctor of Laws has been conferred upon him by Harvard University, Boston University and Amherst and Williams colleges. He is vice-president of the American Antiquarian Society and of the Colonial Sons of Massachusetts.

Lucy Stone, Women's Suffrage Reformer, 1818-1893—Lucy Stone, as she was always known, even after her marriage to Henry B. Blackwell in 1855, was born in West Brookfield. She was of pioneer New England stock. Her grandfather, Colonel Thomas Stone, fought in the French and Indian War, was an officer in the patriot army of the Revolution, and in Shays' Rebellion in 1787 commanded a company of four hundred men.

From her girlhood Lucy Stone dedicated her life to the cause of woman's suffrage. It was with this end in view that she worked her way through Oberlin College in Ohio, graduating in 1847. That she might better interpret the Scriptures as bearing upon the subject of equal suffrage, she gave much of her college time to the mastery of Greek and Hebrew languages.

The first of her long series of lectures for her cause she delivered at Gardner, Massachusetts, soon after her graduation. In 1848 she lectured under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, but always she took occasion to urge the rights of woman. She settled in New Jersey in 1857. From 1867 to 1882 she was a lecturer in the Woman's Suffrage Amendment campaign. She was a founder of the American Woman's Suffrage Association in 1869, was its president in 1872, and chairman of its executive committee from its establishment to 1889. In 1870-72 she was co-editor of the *Woman's Journal,* and was its editor-in-chief from 1872 until her death. Her husband, who had been a merchant in Cincinnati, and their daughter were associated with her in the publication. Her death occurred in Dorchester, Massachusetts, where she had moved in 1869.

Miss Stone, or Mrs. Blackwell, was one of the great exponents of the movement which long since, though not until long after her death, resulted in the enfranchisement of the American woman. She ranked at the very top among the leaders of the cause to which she devoted all her long life.

Stephen Salisbury, 1st, Pioneer Worcester Merchant, 1746-1829; Stephen Salisbury, 2d, Civic and Business Leader, 1798-1884; Stephen Salisbury, 3d, Worcester's Great Benefactor, Who Founded and Richly Endowed the Worcester Art Museum, 1835-1905—The house of Salisbury occupied a most conspicuous and valuable place in the life of Worcester, from the day the first Stephen Salisbury, shortly before the Revolution, arrived from Boston to establish himself as a merchant, until the death of the third Stephen, last of the line in 1905. The great fortune which father, son and grandson accumulated with the passage of years will live on through the generations for the good of the community, in the endowment funds of important institutions, and notably that of the Worcester Art Museum. The beautiful building on Salisbury Street and the magnificent art collection contained therein, recognized as one of the finest in America, the people owe almost

exclusively to the princely bequest of $3,000,000 now grown to almost twice that great sum, the income of which has been spent wisely and discriminatingly by the trustees whom the donor, Stephen Salisbury 3d, himself named, and their successors.

Worcester owes much more than the Art Museum to the last of the Salisbury family. He gave the municipality the land which was developed as Institute Park. On it he erected the replica of the old Norse Tower at Newport, Rhode Island. It was characteristic of him that when Boston's famous Tremont House was razed he bought two of the pillars of its monumental portico, and had them erected as monoliths in the park, where they still stand. He built the tower on Bancroft Hill, reproduction of a mediæval English castle, whose lofty, graceful mass masonry is a landmark not only for Worcester, but for wide reaches of the countryside of central Worcester County. His benefactions to the Worcester Polytechnic Institute were many, among them the great laboratory building which bears his name. He gave the money with which an addition to Worcester City Hospital was erected. His support of other institutions and of charities were many.

The first Stephen Salisbury was born in Boston, and soon after reaching his majority moved to Worcester to establish a branch of the mercantile business of Samuel and Stephen Salisbury, importers of West India and English goods. The town was small, but was the center of a prosperous farming region, and the venture was profitable. The young merchants built a mansion at Lincoln Square, where it stood for more than a century and a half, until its site was needed for the Worcester Boys Club Building, and it was moved to the garden of the mansion of the second Stephen Salisbury, at Institute Road and Lancaster Street. In the days preceding the Revolution, Stephen Salisbury declared himself one of the patriotic party, in spite of the fact that most of the aristocratic families were openly and stubbornly for the King.

The second Stephen graduated from Harvard College, and studied law. His interests were many. He was a director of the Worcester Bank for fifty-two years and its president for the last thirty-nine of them, and was president of the Worcester County Institution for Savings for twenty-six years until he resigned the office. He was president of the American Antiquarian Society from 1854 until his death thirty years later. He served as selectman, representative to the General Court, State Senator and Presidential Elector. He was an overseer of Harvard College, and a trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology, and for years treasurer of its funds. He was the first president of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, now the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He was a

director of the Worcester & Nashua Railroad from its organization, and for two years was its president. He played a conspicuous part in the upbuilding of Worcester's manufacturing industries. He built for Ichabod Washburn the first wire mill on Grove Street, and later, as the business grew, added to it, thus establishing the nucleus of the great North Works of the American Steel & Wire Company as they are today. He encouraged the manufacture of agricultural instruments by building the Court Mills at Lincoln Square, and the factory of the Ames Plow Company on Prescott Street. Later he erected large industrial buildings for rental to manufacturers. We mention only a few of his, Mr. Salisbury's interests and activities, to illustrate what manner of citizen he was.

Stephen Salisbury, 3d, followed closely in the footsteps of his father as an upbuilder of his native city. He graduated from Harvard, and traveled extensively in Europe, before beginning the study of the law which he pursued in the office of Dewey & Williams and at the Harvard Law School, where he received his degree of Bachelor of Laws. He was admitted to the bar in 1861.

In the winter of that year he passed six months in Yucatan as a guest of a Harvard classmate, David Casares, and became deeply interested in the Maya ruins, and in the descendants of the prehistoric race. In later years he revisited Yucatan, and traveled elsewhere in Mexico. He succeeded his father as president of the Worcester Bank and later was made president of the Worcester County Institution for Savings. He became president of the American Antiquarian Society in 1887, and held the office until his death. He was a member of various learned societies. He was a director of various railroads and other business enterprises. He was particularly interested in the development of the north end of Worcester. The farm bought by his grandfather included both sides of Salisbury Street, and part of this he developed as a high class residential neighborhood, and the broad area to the north abutting on Salisbury pond he gave as a park.

Mr. Salisbury's monument—one might call it the monument of the Salisbury family—is the Worcester Art Museum. It was in 1896 that he gathered at his residence a group of men and women interested in art and told them he proposed to give the land and $100,000 for the establishment of a museum. Of the sum, $50,000 was to be the nucleus of a permanent fund, and $50,000 was to go toward the construction of a building. Nearly $50,000 was raised by public subscription, the work of building proceeded, and in May, 1898, the museum was thrown open to the public. Before his death Mr. Salisbury made other important contributions to the institution. Then, under his will, the museum came into the possession of the greater portion of the estate.

Eli Thayer, Originator and Organizer of the Kansas Crusade, 1819-1899—Eli Thayer was born in Mendon, attended the village school, and worked in his father's store and as a farm hand, until the opportunity came to continue his studies in Worcester. After a year he presented himself at Brown University and informed the authorities that he knew nothing of Latin or Greek, the fundamentals of admission in that day, but, if given the chance, would make up the conditions. He kept his word, and at the same time worked his way through college, laboring as a carpenter, wood-sawyer and gardener.

In 1847, after two years as a teacher at Worcester Academy he was made principal, and held the post for two years. He had conceived the plan of the establishment of a girl's school and college on a large scale and proceeded to build on Goat Hill, to the westward, of Worcester Main Street, a great stone building after the lines of a feudal castle, which stands today as it was when he opened it for the reception of pupils, and with the same name, the Oread. The institution was more or less of a success, but Mr. Thayer did not confine his activities to its direction. A consuming energy coupled with an alert and able mind led him into other fields. He held various city offices, served as representative in the State Legislature, was elected to Congress, and was a delegate from Oregon to Republican National Convention of 1860 which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. He achieved some measure of success as an inventor, and for a time engaged in the manufacture of a hydraulic elevator of his own design. But Mr. Thayer's undying fame rests upon his ardent and practical interest and participation in the cause of Anti-Slavery, and above all, his Emigrant Aid Company. He was in the inner councils of the great leaders—Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Charles Allen, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wilson and the others. The story of the furiously indignant reaction in the North to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise we have told in the chapter on the period immediately preceding the Civil War. Eli Thayer was the man who solved the problem of how to meet the South in the fight for or against slavery in the territories, the solution of which was left to the wits of their people.

Mr. Thayer in his book, "The Kansas Crusade," tells of his inception of the idea of combatting the South through the medium of immigration, as follows: "During the winter of 1854 I was, for the second time, a representative from Worcester in the Legislature of Massachusetts. I had felt to some degree the general alarm in anticipation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise but not the depression and despondency that so affected others who regarded the cause of liberty as hopelessly lost. As the winter wore away I began to have a conviction which came to be ever present, that some-

thing *must* be done to end the domination of slavery. I felt a personal responsibility, and though I long struggled to evade the question, I found it to be impossible. I pondered upon it by day, and dreamed of it by night. By what plan could this great problem be solved? What force could be effectively opposed to the power that seemed to spread itself over the continent?

"After much and very careful study, I concluded that if this work could be done at all, it must be done by an entirely new organization, depending for success upon methods never before applied. This was an organized immigration, guided and guarded by a responsible business company, whose capital should precede the emigrants, and prepare the way for them by such investments as should be best calculated to secure their comfort and protection. This emigration must also be of a kind before unknown, since it must, in this case, be self-sacrificing and voluntary, whereas all historical migrations had been either forced or self-seeking. To present this new method of bringing two hostile civilizations face to face upon the disputed prairies of Kansas in such a way as to unite in its support the entire Northern people of whatever parties, was the work next to be done. On this appeal must depend the future of our country.

"Then arose the important question. Was it possible to create such an agency to save Kansas? I believed the time for such a noble and heroic development had come; but could hope be inspired, and the pulsations of life be started beneath the ribs of death? The projected plan would call upon men to risk life and property in establishing freedom in Kansas. They would be called upon to pass over millions of acres of better land than any in the disputed territory was supposed to be, land in communities where peace and plenty were assured, to meet the revolver and the bowie-knife defending slavery and assailing freedom. Could such men be found, they would certainly prove themselves to be the very highest types of Christian manhood, much above all other emigrants. *Could* such men be found?"

We of today do not need to be told that they were found, and that to Eli Thayer is given the credit for their response and for the efficient organization which transported them in a steady flow to the disputed settlements. Their votes brought Kansas into the Union a free State.

Isaiah Thomas, Patriot, Journalist, Author, Publisher, 1749-1831—Isaiah Thomas, founder of the Massachusetts *Spy,* organ of the Revolutionary patriots, founder of the American Antiquarian Society, author and publisher of many important books, was born in Boston. His father, Moses Thomas, who was at various times soldier, sailor, trader and farmer, died when he was hardly three years old, leaving a destitute widow and five small children. By keeping a small shop she was able to maintain the family. But

Isaiah, incredible though it may seem, after a few weeks at school, was apprenticed at the age of six years to Zachariah Fowle, a printer of single sheets, small tracts and pamphlets, described as "eccentric, irritable, effeminate and better skilled in domestic cares than the mysteries of the printing house." It reflects little to his credit that the first attempt of the child workman at setting type was a licentious ballad.

The little boy, who required the elevation of a high bench in order to reach the case of type, was deprived of everything in the way of schooling and skilled instruction in the none too simple printers' art. He was compelled to rely wholly on his own resources. A tattered dictionary and ink-stained Bible were the entire office library. Two or three books, purchased with the saving of trifling perquisites of his employment, and a few volumes borrowed from friends were added to his collection of literature. He proceeded to make up the deficiencies of education by persevering study, unassisted, until he had mastered sufficiently the elementary branches. Furthermore, he acquired that very difficult mode of expression, of putting thoughts directly into type without the assistance of writing. He developed executive ability, too, and actually assumed the responsibility of management of the small business.

The young Thomas cherished an ambition to go to London, there to perfect himself in his trade. After eleven years of apprenticeship with the incompetent Fowle, he left his employ and started for England. But he got no further than Halifax, and there, by some chance, he entered the employ of Anthony Henry, publisher of the Halifax *Gazette,* the organ of the government. Henry was a good-humored man, and indolent, and was glad to let his willing assistant assume the management of the newspaper, though it was not long before he regretted what proved to have been a serious lapse of judgment.

The boy had taken with him from Boston a keen patriotic interest in the cause of the Colonists in their disagreements with the royal government. The stamp act had been passed and put into effect, and the young American patriot proceeded to prepare an attack upon it, and print it in the *Gazette,* which, as has been said, was the government newspaper. Henry, as proprietor, was cited before the authorities, and escaped punishment only on the ground that the obnoxious article was written and inserted by his journeyman without his knowledge. But the offense was repeated, and Thomas himself was ordered to appear before the secretary of the Province, who reprimanded him and threatened serious punishment were the offense repeated. Not long afterward, the *Gazette* received from England an entire year's stock of paper, each sheet stamped as required by the new excise. By night, the

stamp was cut from every sheet, and by a coincidence, which caused the authorities to regard with assured suspicion the Yankee printer, the same night someone hung to the town gallows an effigy of the commissioner appointed to collect the tax. There were other acts disloyal to the King, and the sheriff called on Isaiah Thomas with the purpose of extorting confession by threats. But he got small satisfaction out of his visit.

The crowning affronts followed the arrival in Halifax of the Philadelphia *Journal,* dressed with mourning pages, and adorned with death's heads, crossbones, and other emblems of mortality, and announcing its own death from a complaint known as the stamp act. The imagination of the boy was stirred, and he proceeded to combine his courage and adroitness. The columns of the *Gazette* were set between heavy black rules, the title was surmounted by a skull, a death's head was substituted in the place the stamp should have been, and at the foot of the last page reposed a coffin. Then, in the attempt to justify his work, was the notice: "We are desired, by a number of our readers, to give a description of the extraordinary appearance of the Philadelphia *Journal* of the 30th of October (1765). We can in no better way comply with this request, than by the exemplification we have given of that *Journal* in this day's *Gazette.*" For some unexplained reason the government permitted young Thomas to remain at large. But a copy of the paper reached England and was read by the Ministers, perhaps by King George himself. Whatever happened, in March, 1767, we find the boy in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and soon after in a brief resumption of his association with Fowle in Boston. Following a sailing voyage south and to the West Indies, whence he hoped he would find a way to reach London, he again was in Boston, in partnership with Fowle, publishing a little newspaper which had a short life.

The partnership was dissolved and the younger man bought the printing equipment, and from the press, on March 7, 1771, came the first copy of the *Massachusetts Spy and Oracle of Liberty,* which soon became the leading advocate of Whig principles, in other words, a strong anti-Royalist newspaper. In our chapters on the Revolutionary period we have told the story of Isaiah Thomas' experiences with the royal officers and, just before Concord and Lexington, the removal of the press and type to Worcester in the night, and the resumption of publication there on May 3, 1775.

In 1776 Mr. Thomas moved to Salem, but two years later returned to Worcester to make it his permanent residence. He resumed the publication of the *Spy* which in the meantime had been issued under a lease of the property. Much of his printing equipment had been sacrificed in his hasty removal from Boston in 1775, but as the affairs of the new republic became prosperous again new types and apparatus were purchased. The business

began to expand in a large way. "Uniting the employments of printer, publisher and book-seller, establishing the first bindery and building the second paper mill in the county, the relations of a business which may well be called vast, as they extended to almost every part of the Union, were conducted with that systematic and methodical arrangement which gave successful action to the complex machinery. At one period, under his own personal direction and that of his partners, sixteen presses were in constant motion, seven of them working in Worcester; three weekly papers and one monthly magazine issued; and five bookstores in Massachusetts, one in New Hampshire, one in New York, and one in Maryland, almost supplied the literary sustenance of the country. One of the most liberal publishers of the age, he produced and distributed works whose titles formed a voluminous annual catalog. The great folio edition of the Bible in 1791, illustrated with copperplates, was unrivalled, at the period, for neatness, accuracy, and general elegance and excellence of execution. The whole types for small copies of the Holy Scriptures were kept standing and often used."

Previous to the Revolution, in 1773, Mr. Thomas established the *Essex Gazette* at Newburyport, and in January of the following year commenced the publication of the *Royal American Magazine,* the last of the Boston periodicals under the provincial governors. After the war, in 1793, he founded the *Farmers Magazine,* which was enlivened by the spirit of Prentiss, Dennie, Fessenden and the coterie of wits gathered at Walpole, New Hampshire. In 1799 he established the *Farmer's Journal* at Brookfield, and from 1783 to 1795, in partnership with Ebenezer T. Andrews, published the *Massachusetts Magazine* in Boston.

Because of the resemblance of a Federal excise tax to the abhorred stamp act, he discontinued publication of the *Spy* in 1787-88, and during this time printed the news in the *Worcester Magazine,* founded for the purpose. In 1802 Mr. Thomas turned his business over to his son, Isaiah Thomas, Jr., and retired to devote the rest of his life to literary and kindred labors. He wrote and published in 1810 an exceedingly valuable work, *The History of Printing,* in two octavo volumes. He devoted himself to the collection of a library, and this led to the founding of the American Antiquarian Society, that these books, many of them rare and valuable, might be kept together. With his books, he gave the land and the first Antiquarian Hall, which stood on the easterly side of Summer Street, near Lincoln Square. William Lincoln spoke the truth when he wrote, a century ago: "The institution will remain, an imperisable monument to his memory, when the very materials of the hall reared by his generosity shall have crumbled."

There are those who consider Isaiah Thomas as the most remarkable man who ever lived in Worcester County, and one of the most permanently useful, as given constant evidence by the Antiquarian Society. He would have liked to know that seven Presidents of the United States have been members, that one of them, Calvin Coolidge not long out of the White House, was its president at the time of his sudden death. One would study history a long time before he found the counterpart of a six-year-old lad, destined to educate himself all alone, with never a schoolmaster, defying a royal government, establishing newspapers which played an important part in shaping the Nation's destinies, becoming a publisher of an ability and enterprise unexcelled in any generation, a writer of books which even today are standard; establishing a society whose fame and membership are international. And finally, let us consider the long ascending road traveled by the ignorant little six-year-old to the day when Dartmouth College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and Alleghany College the degree of Doctor of Laws.

David I. Walsh, United States Senator from Massachusetts, 1872—David Ignatius Walsh was born in Leominster, graduated from Holy Cross College in 1893, and has a Bachelor of Laws degree from Boston University in 1897, in which year he was admitted to the bar. He has practiced law in Clinton, which has been his home town from his infancy, in Fitchburg, and, in later years, in Boston. His long and successful political career has been made remarkable by the fact that he has always been a Democrat running for office in a Republican State. Time and again he has been elected in years when the other important offices were filled by men of the opposing party.

He was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in 1913, and Governor in 1914-15. His first election to the United States Senate was in 1919, and he is now serving his third term which will expire in 1936. Five times his party has chosen him its delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention.

The degree of Doctor of Laws has been conferred upon him by his *alma mater,* Holy Cross College, and by Notre Dame University, Fordham College and Georgetown University.

Artemas Ward, Soldier, Jurist, Legislator. First Commander of the American Army Besieging Boston, Major-General in Continental Army, Second in Command to Washington. Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas—Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury was one of the strong men of Massachusetts of the generation centered in the American Revolution. He was of the sturdy Puritan stock, and his own life was governed by the

uncompromising and courageous adherence to principle which characterized his ancestors. His neighbors early learned that here was a man, educated at Harvard, but without aristocratic pretensions, of much native ability, and a natural leader. He was a lawyer by profession. He was trained as a soldier, too, as were most able-bodied, red-blooded men of his day, for he was past his young manhood before the French wars, with their bloody campaigns and Indian atrocities, had come to an end. As an officer of the Provincial Militia, he won the confidence of the soldiery. In the Abercrombie campaign of the French and Indian War he went out as a major, saw hard fighting, and returned the colonel of a Massachusetts regiment.

In the stirring, epochal years which preceded the Revolution, his useful worth brought him quick prominence in the councils and activities of the patriot party, and equal prominence in the black books of the Crown officers. An incident bearing upon his unpopularity with the Royal Governor is worth relating. One day in 1766 the Shrewsbury townsmen were assembled to tear down the old meetinghouse, when a red-coated mounted messenger appeared, who had ridden post-haste from Boston. He enquired for Colonel Ward and upon his appearing from among the villagers handed him a sealed packet. The horseman lingered and men crowded about as the colonel read aloud the following:

Boston, June 30, 1766.

To Artemas Ward, Esqr.,

Sir,—I am ordered by the Governor to signify to you that he has thought fit to supersede your Commission of Col. in the Regiment of militia lying in part in the County of Worcester and partly in the County of Middlesex—And your said Commission is superseded accordingly.

I am Sir, your most ob't and humble serv't

Jno Cotton, Deputy Secretary.

"Give my compliments to the Governor," said Colonel Ward to the redcoat, "and say to him that I consider myself twice honored, but more in being superseded than in being commissioned, and that I thank him for this, since the motive that dictated it is evidence that I am what he is not, a friend to my country." And the crowd jeered the messenger as he galloped away.

Through these pre-war years General Ward represented his town in the General Court, and took a conspicuous part in the controversies of that body with the Royal representatives in the Bay Colony. Elected to the Council, as a protestant against obnoxious measures imposed by the British government, his appointment was twice vetoed by Governor Hutchinson, but not a third time, and he took his seat in that body. He was the sort of upstanding, fearless man who naturally was chosen to membership in committees to pre-

sent the peoples' protests to the Governor. When the final break came, he became a leader in the Provincial Congress, one of the inner circle, in the councils of John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Otis, Joseph Warren, Moses Gill of Princeton and the others.

When the need of military preparations became of uppermost moment, the Provincial Congress, in October, 1774, appointed Ward senior major-general. As such he was commander-in-chief of all Massachusetts forces. And so, when Concord and Lexington had been fought and the British Army driven into Boston, and the pursuing minutemen and militia had concentrated in front of the town, it was General Ward who assumed command of what was to be the besieging army.

He was then a militia officer of Massachusetts. Soon afterwards, when the Continental Congress made George Washington commander-in-chief of all the American forces, Ward was commissioned the senior major-general, which made him second in command, ranked above the turbulent and untrustworthy Charles Lee, who at the time was held in highest regard as a trained soldier. When Washington took command at Cambridge, he gave to Ward the command of the right wing of his army, a post of gravest responsibility, for it included the still unfortified Dorchester Neck, and Boston Neck, over which the British must pass were they to attack the Provincial forces by land. When, following the evacuation of Boston, he was compelled by the inroads of a painful disease to resign his high commission in the Continental Army, it was at Washington's solicitation that he made the physical sacrifice of assuming command of the defenses of Boston. Even before he had turned over this military duty to another, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Worcester County. His intrepid stand in 1787, when Shays' soldiers opposed with bayonets the entrance of the judges into the Courthouse at Worcester, must be mentioned to emphasize the metal of the man. In his later life he was elected to the United States House of Representatives where he served his district for a number of years before his death in 1799. He was honored by his town, his county, his State and his country.

Yet down through the generations has come a sometimes embittered controversy as to General Ward's military skill and ability as an organizer during his service as commander of the American Army, which covered the period from April 20 to July 3, 1775—less than eleven weeks. George Bancroft, recognized authority on the American Revolution, in his *History of the United States,* declared him incompetent, and later historians accepted Bancroft's conclusions. Historians of Worcester County have avoided this period of his life, as something which was better not to discuss.

Apparently injustice has been done him. In 1921 there appeared *The Life of Artemas Ward, First Commander-in-Chief of the American Revolution,* written by Charles Martyn, a painstaking research historian and competent author, and published by the late Artemus Ward of New York, the general's great-grandson. Mr. Martyn, by persistent research, brought forth letters and documents which shed new light on many circumstances and incidents of the siege of Boston. Had Bancroft had access to these it seems unlikely that he would have persisted in his unfavorable opinion of Ward as a general officer in the conditions which surrounded him.

There has been much of hindsight in the criticism by military experts, particularly as to the wisdom of fortifying Bunker Hill, or rather Breed's Hill, the advance eminence of the Charlestown peninsular. This undertaking we now know was an emergency measure, adopted in the knowledge that the reinforced British Army proposed to occupy both Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights, the two commanding hills either one of which, equipped with artillery, would dominate the town of Boston. General Ward's decision was inspired by the urgent demand of the Committee of Safety, and had the unanimous approval of his council of war. Whether or not it was a wise decision, as military strategy, is open to dispute, of course. General Ward was harshly criticized for not concentrating his forces for the reinforcement of the position. Here, again, is a matter for debate. But few will question that the slaughter of British soldiers in the battle was an all-important factor in the eventual evacuation of Boston.

But there seems to be little of justice in the charge of incompetence in the few weeks immediately following the sudden and wholly unanticipated assembling of a horde of soldiers at Cambridge. No general ever lived who, under such circumstances, in so short a time, could have whipped this conglomerate force into an organized, disciplined army. Yet critics began to be heard before a month had passed, demanding the impossible.

The commander was without everything which an army requires—cannon, bayonets, powder, clothing, transport, shelter and camp utensils—literally everything excepting food. There was plenty of that. There were scores of companies of minutemen and militia each with officers elected by the soldiery, but there were no battalion or regimental formations or officers. To quote from *The Life of General Ward*: "The men, having answered the alarm and pursued the enemy as far as pursuit had been deemed possible by their officers, felt no obligation to remain any longer than their own and their companies estimates of the necessities of the situation; or than suited their own needs, or desires, or conscience. As the entire force was a body of their own building and officering, and they had come out on their own initiative,

they felt that, instead of awaiting permission to return to their homes, they could stay or go according to their own volition.

"They had dropped everything on the alarm, many of them marching in the clothes they had been wearing in the fields, and without a farthing in their pockets. After a few hours in camp they began to think of their unfinished work, their untilled fields; and many of them decided to go home—for a while at all events. Each one reasoned that there was no imperative necessity to remain, for the redcoats showed no indication of coming out—and that anyway there were plenty of his fellows who would stay! The especially conscientious private arranged with some one else—generally a relative or townsman—to take his place before he left camp, but a great deal more frequently this precaution was overlooked."

And the Commander-in-Chief was without power to restrain this free and easy manner of military service, until men were formally enlisted. Yet, be it said, before General Ward relinquished his command some excellently trained and well-disciplined regiments had been organized, which constituted the nucleus upon which the famous Continental Line was built.

Let us see what Artemas Ward's life had been before, at the age of forty-seven, he took over the unexpected, and, for him, extraordinary responsibility of the strangely assembled army. He was born in Shrewsbury, November 26, 1727, the son of Nahum Ward. The father, then generally known as "Lieutenant Ward" from his militia rank, was a man of importance in the little group of farmers which made up the Shrewsbury community. He had been one of its founders. His grandfather, a Puritan exodist, had been one of the first settlers of Sudbury and Marlboro. The Lieutenant held many town offices. Upon the incorporation of Worcester County he was made a justice of the peace and was admitted to the bar. Later he was commissioned colonel in the Colony service and a justice of the Common Pleas.

Artemas attended the village school in its short sessions, and was instructed at home by the village minister. Writes his historian: "Nor, for their influence on an imaginative young mind, let us forget the evenings of the New England winters as the family sat within the glow of the big log fire, and Lieutenant Ward (or Colonel Ward, as his father became while Artemas was still a small boy), told of the dangers and adventures and hardships encountered and overcome during the first century of the history of Massachusetts; dwelling much in the early Puritan days, and what had been lost, and what had been saved, of their works and faith; and recounting tales of the French and Indian Wars, which had blazed and devasted.

"He told of his grandfather's house in Marlboro, garrisoned as a fort in King Phillip's War; and of his uncle, Eleazer, who in the same conflict was killed by Indians on the highway between Marlboro and Sudbury. Of the

township of Worcester, only five miles away, twice abandoned because of the Redskin danger; Lieutenant Ward was twenty-nine years of age when it was finally resettled in 1713, and for yet another dozen years it was intermittently in peril of being again blotted out. Of the slaying or capture of his brother Elisha by Indians, and how his mother never gave up hope of Elisha's return; when she died eleven years later her will contained a remembrance for him if he 'shall ever come again.' Of other relatives and many friends who had lost their lives in frontier skirmishing or along the Indian trail."

As he passed into his 'teens the development of his character set him somewhat apart from his brothers, and suggested and justified his father's decision to send him to Harvard College. He was sixteen years old when he was admitted in 1744. In Ward's day Harvard had about one hundred students. Customs of the period seem strange enough to us of today. The breakfast served at Commons consisted of bread and a "cue of beer." Equally distinctive was the "placing" of students by the social rank of their families—a custom closely related to the New England practice of "dignifying" the meetinghouse. The stations then assigned held good everywhere within college jurisdiction, in chapel, at recitations, at Commons. Of the twenty-nine freshmen of the class of 1748, Ward was placed as seventh, which shows the esteem in which his family was held in the Province.

After graduation he taught school for a time at Groton, Massachusetts, then returning to Shrewsbury opened a small general store in the family home. In 1851 he started upon his public career, through election as tax assessor. Three months later, at the age of 25, he entered upon a lifetime of service as justice of the peace, his commission coming from the Crown. As a justice he sat in general sessions in Worcester, and in Shrewsbury in his home, where he married many couples, and tried a large class of minor offenders. Under the Province laws a justice of the peace had power to punish up to the whipping post and the stocks. Drunkards, profaners of the Sabbath, and peace-breakers had to deal with Justice Ward.

It was characteristic of the man that the profaner of the Sabbath fared badly in Shrewsbury. Anyone rash enough to travel on Sunday excepting in an easily proved and forgivable emergency, found himself in the Ward sitting room "telling it to the judge." Nor did he relax his "early sabbatical vigilance; we find him a generation later, a man of sixty-one years, a general and a chief justice, standing in the Shrewsbury highway to halt infractors of the Sunday law." Which would be a very dangerous place for him to stand on a twentieth century Sunday.

There followed his service in the militia, and his commission as major in Colonel William Williams' Massachusetts regiment, and the participation with

that body in the disastrous Abercrombie campaign against Fort Ticonderoga. During that year he received promotion in the field to lieutenant-colonel. He returned home a colonel—and with health broken by the hardships of the campaign, and suffering from a disease which was to plague him through the rest of his life.

In the following fifteen years, until the outbreak of the Revolution, we find him occupying one public office after another, among them judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and membership in the Provincial legislative bodies. His participation in various patriotic activities is related in other chapters of this book. Finally, on the eve of Concord and Lexington, we find him senior major-general of the Massachusetts military forces. It is not difficult to realize that his training for sudden leadership of probably the largest military force America had ever seen, was wholly inadequate as judged by the standards of professional soldiers.

"General Ward lay ill in bed when the express rider galloped through Shrewsbury with news of the clash at Lexington," wrote Mr. Martyn. "But next morning at daybreak he mounted his horse and set out toward Boston, joining and passing company after company of the militiamen filling the roads as they also hurried eastward to the capital.

"From Shrewsbury to Cambridge is now a pleasant motor trip, but on horseback over the rough highway of the year 1775 it could have been no holiday jaunt for a middle-aged man afflicted with bladder-stone. Yet Ward unhesitatingly journeyed it to direct the dangerous enterprise of rebellion against the world-famed power of Great Britain. Those men of New England who thus unflinchingly accepted duty's call to leadership, and, leading, dared, arms in hand, to oppose the power of the King and Parliament of England, risked a fate more bitter than death on the battlefield. They dared also the hangman's gallows—and beyond, perchance, the horrors of the severed head and limbs rotting by the roadside. Such things have been impossible in England for a century or more—but they were not impossible then. Nor did they seem so to Ward and his associates, for they had been young men grown at the time of the Jacobite hangings and beheadings of 1746.

"The risk of punishment was much greater then when Ward assumed the leadership than when Washington took hold. Behind Ward and the early leaders of the Revolution, were only the forces of New England—indeed, at the first challenge, only the forces of Massachusetts. When Washington was appointed he had the patriot element of thirteen colonies at his back.

"On Ward's arrival in Cambridge he took command of the besieging forces and called a council of war—the first Revolutionary council of war. General Ward, who took his place at the head of the council table was a man of moderate height, clean shaven, of prominent features; too stout for his

forty-seven years and at the moment showing the effects of his recent illness, but well enough nevertheless to apply himself conscientiously to the duties to his hand. Dressed in the manner of the time—hair in a powdered wig; a long coat with silver buttons; a figured neckcloth surmounting a ruffled shirt; a long waistcoat with big pockets; knee breeches, and riding-boots. A 'God-fearing' man, strongly believing in and living up to the religion he professed; quiet, thoughtful, and rather over-stern in demeanor; somewhat slow in speech and with a biblical turn to his conversation; inflexible in his ideas, and fully convinced that the Massachusetts Bay Colony was the land most approved by Providence, and that those of Massachusetts were the Chosen People."

Something more than the methods of the trained soldier were required in the commander of this Yankee army, and of this General Ward's biographer gives a convincing analysis, as follows:

"It was the good fortune of Massachusetts (and of the Revolution) that the chief command of this restless, seething army was in the hands of a man whom the troops esteemed and respected. Had Ward held less of their respect and affection, the much discussed 'disorder' might have become disaster.

"It had been the sound judgment of the Provincial delegates which had placed Ward above all of the general officers except Preble (who declined service). His attributes had not included seniority—for he was the youngest of the general officers who had seen service; but neither was he appointed because of greater possible activity—for by that standard Thomas would have outranked him. His military record, though not from any personal fault, was less brilliant than that of Pomeroy, or Thomas, or Whitcomb. And he had neither wealth nor high position to enhance his standing. But he had been tested and tried in the political storms of many years, and he stood as a recognized champion of the patriot cause and, as such, an inspiring commander for the Patriot army.

"He was not a 'regular general,' nor blessed with a great political following, but for a full twenty-four years he had been in the closest contact with the typical Massachusetts life; meeting his home neighbors and those of greater distance throughout Worcester County as justice of the peace and judge of the Court of Common Pleas; as selectman and church moderator, as representative and councilor, and as militia officer—and he thoroughly understood the men and their manner of thought. The molding of his character and the ripening of his experience during those twenty-four years now stood his country in good stead.

"Some there were who thought him over-lenient to offenders, and that he held the reins too loosely; but when the point was raised, both friend and

enemy among the leaders of Massachusetts realized that to put another in his place might overnight destroy the Province. It was not possible to enforce rigid discipline, and until a regularly constituted government could be reëstablished there was always the danger that the army might get out of hand no matter who was in command, but Ward filled his most difficult post with so substantial a degree of dexterity that even his most bitter detractor—James Warren, of Plymouth—feared the result of making a change and, in the following month, testified 'we dare not supercede him here.' A severe or arbitrary or unpopular general would have been defied, and the defiance might have kindled the flames of armed anarchy. An ambitious general might have torn authority from the Congress and set up a military standard. Either calamity would have alienated the sympathies of the other colonies and, rousing and confirming their dormant suspicions of Massachusetts, would have destroyed the Revolution in its cradle. And either would have brought a grim aftermath to the patriots of Massachusetts; with confiscation and hangings to mark the penalty for unsuccessful rebellion.

"There were other able men in Massachusetts, with more military experience, and, some of them, with stronger ideas of military discipline, but there was none other whom Ward's contemporaries dared to trust at the helm while there threatened a return to elemental passions."

Ward was the central figure of command, but until the Provincial Congress or the Committee of Safety should act, he was without authority to enlist the men around him, or to pay them, or to hold them in any way. On April 23 he wrote the Provincial Congress imploring immediate action: "My situation is such that if I have not enlisting orders immediately, I shall be left all alone. It is impossible to keep the men here, expecting something be done. I therefore pray that the plan may be completed and handed to me this morning, that you, gentlemen of the Congress issue orders for enlisting men." Thus prompted, the Congress declared for the raising of an army of 13,600. But a clumsy system of recruiting was put into effect, and the regiments were slow in filling up and in getting their officers. The besieging lines were at their leanest in the early days of May, for most of the men had returned to their homes—"some to get additional clothes and to arrange farm and family affairs because they had enlisted or intended to; others, because they had decided that camp life was not to their taste."

"Always incessantly, increasingly imperative was the need for gunpowder. Letter after letter by Ward calls for it. Especially impressive in its extreme earnestness and courageous confidence is the address to the Continental Congress that he signed on June 4, together with Joseph Warren, as chairman of the Committee of Safety, and Moses Gill, as chairman of the Committee of Supplies. They convincingly set forth the danger to which the Province is

exposed by the scarcity of ammunition, but they dwell on the bravery of the New England troops, 'whom we think we can without boasting declare are ready to encounter every danger for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of America.' They ask only for arms and ammunition—feeling that thus supplied, even if otherwise unassisted, they may 'with the common blessing of Providence baffle the designs of the enemy,' and be greatly instrumental in bringing our present dispute to happy issue."

During these weeks various reports were received that the British were planning to seize and fortify Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights. General Ward and his council of war on several occasions planned to establish a fort on Dorchester Heights, but each time the project was deemed premature, for one reason because of lack of cannon. In the meantime, however, the organizing of regiments began to run more smoothly and efficiently, and the army began to take military form. It must not be supposed that during these weeks the troops had been idle. The American positions had been better established, and various skirmishes had been fought. These were feverish weeks.

Ward and Bunker Hill.

"Then quickly approached 'in early June' a climax to all the threats and counter-threats. The English had received the greater part of the reinforcements for which they had been waiting. Well equipped, well disciplined, well officered, and headed by a galaxy of famous generals, they felt that their turn had come, and they decided that the time was ripe to raise the siege. Their first move was to be—on Sunday, June 18—the seizure and fortification of Dorchester Neck. This to be succeeded by the occupation of the Charlestown peninsula, for it "was absolutely necessary that we should make ourselves masters of those heights,'" wrote General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, and his words were confirmed in a letter from General Howe to his brother, Lord Howe.

"News of the English decision reached the besiegers. A crisis impended. With the English army moving out of the town, no man could certainly foretell the issue if, unchecked, it should push forward over either or both peninsulas to an attack upon the American lines. A successful English onslaught might break up the only American army and throw the colonies and their cause into confusion and helplessness. For the safety of America the English must be held in Boston.

"The Committee of Safety, June 15, addressed the Provincial Congress, pressing for an immediate augmentation of the army, an immediate remedying of the deficiency in arms, an immediate commissioning of additional officers, and the ordering of all the militiamen in the Colony to 'hold them-

selves in readiness to march on the shortest notice'; and made the session historic by passing its famous 'Bunker Hill resolution':

"'Whereas, it appears of Importance to the Safety of this Colony, that possession of the Hill, called Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown, be securely kept and defended; and also some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise Secured. Therefore, Resolved, Unanimously, that it be recommended to the Council of War, that the above mentioned Bunker's Hill be maintained by sufficient force being posted there; and as the particular situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Committee, they advise that the Council of War take and pursue such steps respecting the Same, as to them shall appear to be for the Security of this Colony.'"

"All histories have it that the result of the action of the council of war on this resolution of the Committee of Safety was Ward's order to fortify Bunker Hill—and the resolution and order have been variously interpreted; as a step of almost blind recklessness, a desperate hazard, occasioned by the urgent necessity to do something to check the British plans to raise the siege; as a move to offset the British intention to take Dorchester Neck; as an act of defiance calculated to bring on a general engagement; as the first step in the contemplated expulsion of the English from Boston.

"But the determination at which the council of war of June 15 actually arrived was of a character much bolder—no less than a sudden tightening of the lines around the British forces by the simultaneous fortification of both Bunker Hill and Dorchester Neck.

"At earlier meetings, Ward and Joseph Warren had opposed the fortification of Bunker Hill until the American forces could be better equipped. But the English onslaught, long threatened, long deferred, was at last imminent, and resolve ran high to drive boldly forward to block it.

"The supply of powder was still very low, but the army had been acquiring regimental form as company after company filled up, and it had achieved a little military experience in the skirmishes of the preceding weeks; so now that the Committee of Safety had placed the issue before them, recommending the occupation of Bunker Hill, but leaving the matter of Dorchester Neck to their discretion, the council of war with true New England courage unanimously decided on occupying both.

"I have no quarrel with those who criticize either the conception or the execution of the battle. There is room for honest disagreement on both, and hindsight can always find points on which to hang or by which to bolster an argument.

"Some of the questions which have long engaged writers and controversialists can now be laid to rest, settled by the publication of new contemporary evidence and the better consideration of old. Of these are the view-

points of the American military leaders at Cambridge concerning both the Bunker Hill project and the possibility of occupying Dorchester Neck; the original plan for the relief of the detachment; and lesser items, as the supply of 'drinking water.' Some others must still remain largely a matter of individual opinion.

"Questioning the fundamental policy of the expedition, one may ask with much sapience why the Americans thought it necessary to occupy the Charlestown peninsula, when egress from Boston by that route could have been blocked, or checked, with much less risk by works on the mainland side of Charlestown Neck.

"It was, perhaps, a move foolishly reckless, but it was also a move of high moral courage—and was rewarded by success far beyond all expectations; beyond, if you will, all merit! It had been projected to prevent the enemy from moving out of Boston onto the mainland, and it resulted in driving them out of Boston into the sea!

"If the battle had not been fought, the English would, as their least exploit,—and at little, if any, cost—have taken possession of Dorchester Neck within the next twenty-four hours. Quickly following would have come their occupation of the Charlestown peninsula. And thereafter, even should they have found it impossible to make any further advance, they could have safely and easily maintained the town and harbor as a base for operations against both New England and New York.

"One comes next to Ward's judgment against large early reinforcement of Prescott's detachment, and his determination to hold his center in full strength until the enemy had displayed his choice of attack.

"Whether we agree or disagree with him, the contingency upon which he based his judgment was at all events no fallacy, for the letters of General Howe—soon to replace Gage as English commander-in-chief—tell us that Cambridge was the main objective in his plan for raising the siege.

"It was impossible for Ward,—or anyone else in the American camp—to divine what proportion, if any, of the British strength would be sent over the Charlestown peninsula in the face of the American entrenchments, and what proportion by way of Lechmere's Point or Willis Creek.

"An attack by way of Lechmere's Point or Willis Creek was a very real peril. Washington also so regarded it when, nine months later, the American forces undertook the occupation of Dorchester Neck. We find him carefully avoiding the danger of unduly weakening his center, though the American lines had by that time been greatly strengthened and Lechmere's Point had been converted into a strongly fortified position, equipped with some of the heavy Ticonderoga guns.

"There was a deplorable amount of confusion among the troops on the Charlestown peninsula and in the vicinity (excepting always those holding the battle line), but Ward, necessarily remaining in Cambridge until the landing of the English reinforcement had completed the disclosure of his opponent's plan of action, could not have reached the field in time to have changed conditions there—even if (which is doubtful) he, or any other man, could have changed them to any great degree. And if he had left headquarters before the English commander had displayed his intention, he would have been taking an entirely unjustifiable hazard.

"All of which seems very plain, yet apparently some of Ward's critics would have liked to see him put the last keg of powder in a coach and drive over to the Charlestown peninsula in order to make a complete show for the spectators in Boston."

Washington in Command.

Washington, on taking over the command, continued the three-division plan of the army. On July 22 he assigned the largest division, that of the right wing, to Ward; the left wing to Charles Lee; and the center, under his personal supervision, to Putnam. Ward, three days later, rode over to Roxbury to assume his new command. The occasion was made one of ceremony. Five regiments were "marched towards Cambridge" to meet him and "wait upon" him into Roxbury. The right wing comprised the Roxbury positions and their "southern dependencies." The division under the new alignment was manned by twelve regiments of Massachusetts and Connecticut men, in two brigades under Generals Thomas and Spencer."

While only incidental to this narrative, the circumstances of General Ward's life during this period are interesting.

"Roxbury was at that time still 'a suburban village,' with a single narrow street, and dotted with farms, many of which were yet held by the descendants of the original proprietors. The business of the town was concentrated in Roxbury Street, the sole thoroughfare to Boston, through which (in normal times) as through a tunnel, crowded all the surplus produce of the country.

"Ward's headquarters, was in the mansion 'built about the year 1723, by Col. Francis Brinley, upon the estate of eighty acres formerly Palsgrave Alcock's,' and styled by its owner 'Datchet House,' having been modelled after the family seat of the Brinleys, at Datchet, England. It was at the time known as the Brinley Place, or 'Pierpont Castle,' deriving its latter name from its purchase in 1773 by Robert Pierpont, a Boston merchant. There is much vivid description of it in a little volume entitled 'Fannie St. John,' by Emily Pierpont Delesdernier.

"It was situated," she wrote, "in the midst of a large domain of park and wooded hills, and presented a picture of grandeur and stateliness not common in the New World. There were colonnades, and a vestibule whose massive mahogany doors, studded with silver, opened into a wide hall, where tessellated floors sparkled under the light of a lofty dome of richly painted glass. Underneath the dome two cherubs carved in wood extended their wings, and so formed the center, from which an immense chandelier of cut glass depended. Upon the floor beneath the dome there stood a marble column, and around it ran a divan formed of cushions covered with satin of Damascus of gorgeous coloring. Large mirrors with ebony frames filled the spaces between the grand staircases at either side of the hall of entrance. All the paneling and woodwork consisted of elaborate carving done abroad, and made to fit every part of the mansion where such ornamentation was required. Exquisite combinations of painted birds and fruits and flowers abounded everywhere, in rich contrast with the delicate blue tint that prevailed upon the lofty walls. The staterooms were covered with Persian carpets, and hung with tapestries of gold and silver, arranged after some graceful artistic foreign fashion."

The "wide hall," forty-four feet in length and twenty-two feet in width, occupied the entire ground floor of the center of the house and opened into two large wings to left and right. In the right was the reception room in which Ward and his staff held council.

The Estrangement with Washington.

"The closing months of 1775 were marked by the birth and growth of the estrangement between Washington and Ward. No light was ever shed upon its original cause by either man, but indirect evidence points to a mutual lack of cordiality as having existed from their first meeting. There are three probable explanations: first, James Warren; second, Charles Lee; and third, Washington's biting comments on both officers and privates of the Massachusetts troops.

"James Warren had conceived and expressed the idea that the failure to hold Bunker Hill, the lack of discipline, and pretty nearly every other trouble, was Ward's fault. Washington had not anticipated the conditions he encountered in the American camps and he apparently adopted James Warren's line of thought and hastened to the conclusion that the disorder he found was due to laxity in Ward's methods.

"Next on the list we have Charles Lee, still smarting from the two wounds to his pride—the twice passing of his name in the selection of those to command the Revolutionary Army. Under the circumstances one would not expect 'Boiling Water' (as the Indians had nicknamed Lee) to appreciate a

provincial general who had little to say for himself, who was a judge by profession instead of a soldier, and who had established Cromwell's practice of the troops' daily attendance at prayers—'Deacon Ward,' Lee styled him; and one would expect Lee, never sparing in criticism of people whom he disliked or who might be in his way, to pass many sneers to Washington concerning Ward. We also know that until the battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778) Washington held a very high opinion of Lee's military judgment and ability.

"The third surmise—Washington's harsh criticisms of New Englanders; his impugning of their personal habits, courage, intelligence, and morality—was probably a fertile cause of the continuance and growth of the ill feeling, for General Ward strongly resented disparagement of Massachusetts by Southerners.

"General Ward's health had declined to a somewhat alarming extent during the first months of 1776. He had made no complaint while the outcome of the siege of Boston remained in doubt, but after the successful occupation of Dorchester Heights he felt compelled to retire from army life. Dorchester Heights had shifted the principal site of the struggle. The next step was to be a fight to hold New York against the enemy, and he was physically unequal to the responsibilities of his position in a province and under conditions alike unfamiliar to him.

"He waited until the enemy had evacuated the capital and then he wrote to Washington tendering his resignation, for 'to eat the Continental bread & not do the duty is what I am much averse to.' He accompanied his letter to the commander-in-chief by one in similar strain to Hancock as President of the Continental Congress.

"Washington was apparently glad to receive Ward's resignation as first major-general but he requested him (March 29) to take the command in Boston and, following, the general Continental command in Massachusetts after the main army's departure for New York. High and peculiar responsibility would attach to the post, but it did not involve the rigors of a marching campaign, and Ward accepted the charge until some other general could be spared to take it over—continuing to place the public service above all personal consideration.

"It will be noted that neither Washington nor Ward permitted his personal sentiments to affect his sense of duty. Washington did not hesitate to ask, nor Ward to give.

"Regiment after regiment from the American camps around Boston was now marching toward New York, and on April 4, 1776, Washington himself set out."

On the same day Ward formally assumed the command in Massachusetts of both the land forces and the heterogeneous little fleet in the continental

pay. He held this post until he was relieved by General Heath on March 20, 1777.

Following are Washington's letters which Ward and his friends deem offensive, and stories which were built on the estrangement:

WASHINGTON'S COMMENTS ON WARD'S RESIGNATION.

To Joseph Reed, April 1, 1776: "Nothing of importance has occurred in these parts, since my last, unless it be the resignation of General Ward and Fry, and the reassumption of the former, or retraction, on account as he says, of its being disagreeable to some of the officers. Who those officers are. I have not heard. I have not inquired. When the application to Congress and notice of it to me came to hand, I was disarmed of interposition, because it was put upon the footing of duty of conscience, the General being persuaded that his health would not allow him to take that share of duty that his office required. The officers to whom the resignation is disagreeable, have been able, no doubt, to convince him of his mistake, and that his *health* will admit him to be *alert* and *active*. I shall leave him until he can determine yea or nay, to command in this quarter."—*Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed.*

To Charles Lee, May 9, 1776: "General Ward, upon the evacuation of Boston, and finding that there was a probability of his removing from the smoke of his own chimney, applied to me, and wrote to Congress for leave to resign. A few days afterward, some of the officers, as he says, getting uneasy at the prospect of his leaving them, he applied for his letter of resignation, which had been permitted to my care; but, behold! it had been carefully forwarded to Congress, and as I have since learnt, judged as reasonable (want of health being the plea) that it was instantly complied with." (This statement is inaccurate, for the letter of resignation referred to—that of March 22—was never accepted by Congress. It was not until Ward repeated his request for permission to retire that Congress, a month later, took action.) —*Lee Papers.*

WARD CONFRONTED WASHINGTON WITH ONE OF THE ABOVE LETTERS?

"Following are the two chief forms of the story (unauthenticated—and, as it applies to Ward, entirely uncharacteristic—but nevertheless persistently handed down by tradition) that Ward confronted Washington with a letter in which the Virginian had aspersed him; perhaps one of the two quoted above; perhaps a third which I have not come upon.

"It is well known that Washington spoke of the resignation of General Ward, after the evacution of Boston, in a manner approaching contempt.

His observations, then confidentially made, about some of the other generals, were not calculated to flatter their *amour propre* or that of their descendants. It is said that General Ward, learning long afterwards of the remark that had applied to him, accompanied by a friend, waited on his old chief at New York, and asked him if it was true that he had used such language. The President replied that he did not know, but that he kept copies of his letters, and would take an early opportunity of examining them. Accordingly, at the next session of Congress (of which General Ward was a member), he again called with his friend, and was informed by the President that he had really written as alleged. Ward then said, 'Sir, you are no gentleman,' and turning on his heel quitted the room."—S. A. Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex.*

"Of his (Ward's) bravery there is no question, although Washington accused him of cowardice in leaving the service before Boston. Benjamin Stone, the first preceptor of Leicester Academy, gave me the following account of Ward's misunderstanding with Washington. Soon after the establishment of the Government at Philadelphia, Ward, then a member of Congress, came into possession of a letter written by Washington, in which the offensive charge was made. He immediately proceeded to the President's house, placed the paper before him, and asked him if he was the author of it. Washington looked at the letter and made no reply. Ward said, 'I should think that the man who was base enough to write that, would be base enough to deny it,' and abruptly took his leave." Reminiscences of the Rev. George Allen of Worcester.

A Legend of Washington's Desire To Make Amends.

The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses a letter from C. Gore to General Ward's son, Judge Artemas Ward, dated January 22, 1819. It gives a conversation with Samuel Dexter as authority for the statement that Washington, on his retirement from public life, wrote to Ward denying that he had written "a letter published in the early part of the Revolutionary War, which contained Remarks injurious to the Reputation of General Ward," and expressing "in unequivocal Terms, the Regard for the Character and Conduct of General Ward, in all the Departments of public Duty in which he had acted."—*Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings.*

Emory Washburn, Governor of Massachusetts, 1800-1878—Emory Washburn, native of Leicester, Governor of Massachusetts, eminent lawyer, and twenty years Bussey professor of law at Harvard University, fitted for college at Leicester Academy, and entered Dartmouth College at the age of thirteen. In 1815, when a distinguished Dartmouth professor became presi-

dent of Williams College, he took young Washburn with him, and there he took his degree in 1817 in a class of seven. He immediately began the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1821, and began the practice of law in his native town. He represented Leicester in the State Legislature 1826 and 1827, and there made a report suggesting a railroad connecting Boston and Albany, several years before his State had a mile of steam railroad.

Following the death of his widowed mother, he moved to Worcester in 1828. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1838, and of the State Senate in 1841-42, and from 1844 to 1848 was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was in Europe in 1853, when, without his knowledge, he was elected Governor of Massachusetts on the Whig ticket, and was unaware of his election until his steamer touched at Halifax on the return voyage. In 1856 he entered upon his score of years of service as a professor at Harvard. Both Harvard and Williams conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society for half a century, a director of the American Science Association, and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, serving on the standing committee for many years, and as vice-president from 1874 until his death. He was the author of more than fifty books and pamphlets and contributed greatly to the historical knowledge of New England and of the United States.

Ichabod Washburn, Founder of the American Wire Industry. Inventor of the Wire Block which Revolutionized Wire Drawing. Founder of Worcester Memorial Hospital, 1798-1868—Ichabod Washburn was born in Kingston, Massachusetts, twin son of Captain Ichabod Washburn. His mother, Sylvia Bradford, was a descendant of Governor William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony. His father died when the second Ichabod was still an infant, leaving the mother to support her children and herself at the loom and spinning wheel. A consequence was that when the boy was only nine years old he went to live with a harness maker in Duxbury, doing chores, stitching harness, and attending the winter terms of school. Five years of this life were followed by a year in a cotton factory.

He was sixteen years old when he began an apprenticeship in the blacksmith's trade at Leicester, and had his initial experience with iron and steel. Two years later he was working at his trade for $50 a year, his board and clothing and twelve weeks of schooling. He stayed with his employer until he was twenty, when he went to Millbury, still working as a blacksmith, first as an employee, and then manufacturing plows on his own account.

Daniel Waldo of Worcester recognized the worth of this young man, and loaned him the money, without security, to set himself up in his own shop.

In 1819 he was making ramrods, first in Millbury, then in Worcester, and the following year began the manufacture of machinery and lead pipe. In his shop were built the first condenser and long-roll spinning jack in America.

Soon afterward, the firm, Washburn & Goddard, started the manufacture of wire and wood screws in a mill at Northville, the two branches of business being kept separate, Washburn & Goddard producing the wire, their associates the screws. The screw business was sold out in 1836 and was removed to Providence and finally became a part of the American Screw Company.

In 1835 the firm was dissolved and Mr. Washburn continued the manufacture of wire in a three-story building on the site of the present North Works of the American Steel & Wire Company on Grove Street. His twin brother Charles, who had been practicing law in Harrison, Maine, joined him, and they were partners for a number of years.

In the meantime Mr. Washburn had invented the wire block, a device which revolutionized the drawing of wire. A rolling mill was erected at Quinsigamond, the beginning of the present-day South Works, and upon the dissolution of the partnership this went to Charles as his share. Philip L. Moen, Ichabod Washburn's son-in-law, entered the business, Mr. Washburn spent much of his time experimenting in the tempering of wire, and at the suggestion of Chickering, the piano manufacturer, produced samples of piano wire. His piano wire proved equal to the imported article and from that time the manufacture of steel wires for musical instruments of all kinds was carried on in Worcester. In July, 1859, the Washburn works employed one hundred and twenty men and produced three tons of wire a day. In 1863 Mr. Washburn and his partner built a cotton mill, which they operated for about ten years, producing yarn sufficient to cover four tons of crinoline wire daily. Finally, in 1888, we find the name of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing established, and its plants employing three thousand men. They grew to be the greatest in the world for the manufacture of wire specialties, as distinguished from tonnage products, such as telegraph and telephone wire and barb wire. The company was merged into the American Steel & Wire Company, under whose management the works have maintained the high standards established by their founder.

When Ichabod Washburn was young, a cask of English wire supplied this country for a year. The first coarse wire machine that he ever saw "was one of self-acting pincers, drawing out about a foot, then passing back and drawing out another foot. So crude and ill-adapted for the work was the machine that no man could draw on it more than fifty pounds a day. We improved on this machine so as to draw out about fifteen feet at each pass, increasing

the product at least tenfold. We soon, however," writes Mr. Washburn in his autobiography in 1866, "substituted the drawing block, which has never been since improved. With this a man can conveniently get off twenty-five hundred pounds a day. Other important improvements have since been made, aside from the drawing block, which I do not claim, both in coarse and fine wire-drawing, as also in the annealing process."

Mr. Washburn was active in the anti-slavery movement, and in 1859 was treasurer of the Church Anti-Slavery Society. In 1860 he was State Senator.

He was a strong believer in total abstinence. His mansion on Summer Street was the first in New England to be erected without the use of ardent spirits, and it is related that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to get artisans who were willing to substitute lemonade, crackers and cheese for the accustomed rum. Only by offering higher than usual wages was he able to accomplish his purpose.

To the end of his life he gave systematically and generously according to his income, to charity, church and public enterprises. He made the building of Worcester Mechanics Hall possible by contributing $25,000 and was one of the promoters of the old Bay State House in order to have an adequate hotel in the city. In memory of two daughters, he founded Memorial Hospital. He gave to the Worcester Polytechnic Institute the Washburn Shops and must be counted among the founders of that institution. He founded the Mission Chapel and the Free Dispensary, and was the founder and chief donor of the Home for Aged Women in Worcester.

Eli Whitney, Inventor of the Cotton Gin, Which Revolutionized American Industry and Stimulated Negro Slavery Which Was To Become National Menace. 1765-1825—Eli Whitney was born in Westboro in 1765 and was graduated from Yale College in 1792. Going to Georgia in that year, he became a member of the household of General Nathanael Greene's widow. This lady quickly recognized Eli Whitney's mechanical and inventive genius. Through her he met several large Southern planters whose discussions, regarding the desirability of a machine able to separate the short staple cotton from its seed, aroused his interest in this important problem. In a short space of time and using only the primitive plantation tools available to him, he constructed such a machine. Though it has been improved since then, its fundamental principles are still used in modern cotton gins. This invention revolutionized the cotton industry and had a far reaching effect on the economic industrial and social life and development of the South and, indeed, the whole country. Even the first crude gin built by Mr. Whitney is reported to have done in one day the work

that previously required the handwork of 1,000 women. It was the Whitney Cotton Gin that raised cotton to its powerful position as an economic factor and thus, at least indirectly, it had a tremendous influence in reviving the then dying institution of slavery and in creating the conditions that eventually led to the Civil War.

The first model apparently was stolen, but another was soon built, and on it a patent was granted to Eli Whitney on March 14, 1794. He formed a partnership with Phineas Miller, one of his college friends and later the second husband of General Greene's widow, for the manufacture of gins. Their first factory, built at New Haven, Connecticut, was burned in March, 1795. Other difficulties, too, beset the young inventor. The demand for gins became so large that it could not be filled, and many machines were built by a country blacksmith, infringing on the Whitney patent. Mr. Whitney spent much time, effort and money in fighting these and other infringements, and the validity of his patent was not finally settled until 1807. His financial returns from his invention fell far below his just expectations, and even some of the Southern states, who had made contracts with him through their Legislatures, failed to keep them or at least long delayed their fulfillment. When, in 1812, Mr. Whitney petitioned Congress to extend his patent, this petition was denied, largely as the result of the opposition on the part of the members from the cotton-growing states.

In the meantime Mr. Whitney had turned his inventive genius to other problems and established himself in the manufacture of fire-arms in New Haven, where he filled important government contracts during the War of 1812. In this new field he again gave many evidences of the versatility of his inventive genius. He died at New Haven on January 8, 1825.

Whitney's fame today is undisputed. Even in his own times his talents found many admirers. Robert Fulton said of him: "Arkwright, Watt, and Whitney were the three men that did most for mankind of any of their contemporaries," while Macaulay wrote: "What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin has more than equalled in its relation to the power and progress of the United States."

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